THE HOYSALA DYNASTY

Ed. Dr. B. SHEIK ALI

V213 H
N72
12810

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Edited by
Dr. B. Sheik Ali

PRASARANGA
UNIVERSITY OF MYSORE
1972

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EDITOR—GAZETTEERS

25 அக் 1980

EGMORE, MADRAS

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Editor :

Dr. B. SHEIK ALI

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Manasagangotri, Mysore)

PRASARANGA

UNIVERSITY OF MYSORE, MYSORE

1972

Geetha Book House
Mysore-570001.

The Hoysaḷa Dynasty, a collection of papers read at a seminar organised by the Dept. of History, University of Mysore, edited by Dr. B. Sheik Ali, Published by the Director, Prasaranga, University of Mysore, Demy Octavo pp. viii + 376, Plates 8

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First Edition 1972

V213H
N72

Price: Ordinary: 20/=

Deluxe: 25/=

TAMIL NADU ARCHIVES LIBRARY
12810
MADRAS-600 005

Published by
The Director, Prasaranga
University of Mysore, Mysore-6

Printed at
Vidya Printery
100 Feet Road, Mysore-4

FOREWORD

THE DEPARTMENT OF History organised a Seminar from 18th to 20th December 1970 to celebrate the millenniary year of the establishment of the Hoysaḷa Dynasty which came into existence, according to one source, by about 970 A.D. The University of Mysore in conjunction with the University Grants Commission felt it necessary to celebrate the occasion by holding a Seminar. The objective was not merely to pay our homage to a dynasty which made significant contribution to the main stream of Indian culture particularly in the fields of art, architecture, literature, religion, philosophy and political organisation, but also to focus the attention of our scholars on this important chapter of our history, which had so far received only scant attention at their hands. Excepting one or two monographs, such as *The Hoysalas* by Dr. Derrett, which is the only standard work, and *Hoysaḷa Vamsa* by Coelho, there is nothing worth mentioning on the subject, and hence a lot more remains to be covered on social life, economic conditions and administrative institutions, apart from art, architecture, literature, philosophy and so on. This Seminar was a humble effort to rouse the consciousness of our scholars to the urgent need of the hour.

We are happy to note that about nine Universities from Poona in the north to Kerala in the south participated in this Seminar and nearly forty papers were read on various aspects such as the Origin of the Hoysalas, the Ideals of Hoysaḷa Kingship, their political relations with their neighbours, their commercial contact with the outside world, their local institutions, their important personalities, their art, sculpture, religion, literature and philosophy. Some of the renowned scholars of the south participated in the Seminar, and the Superintending Archæologist of the Southern Circle, the Director of Archæology of Mysore and the Chief Epigraphist, Government of India put up an exhibition on art and epigraphy. The Seminar was inaugurated by our Vice-Chancellor, Professor D. Javare

Gowda, who was the main source of inspiration, but for whose deep interest this Seminar could never have been organised. I take this opportunity to express my deep sense of gratitude to him and to the University of Mysore for financial and moral support both for organising the Seminar and for publishing its proceedings. I thank the University Grants Commission as well for their munificent grant. My thanks are due to the various scholars from different Universities who made this Seminar a success. The University Librarian very kindly placed the Library Halls at our disposal for the exhibition, and I thank him heartily for his kind help. I should specially mention that all my colleagues exerted their utmost, and left no stone unturned to make this Seminar meaningful, and I am very grateful to them indeed. All the students of the Department equally deserve my thanks for their labour. The Administrative Officer, who was once on the staff of this Department, was a source of limitless help to the Seminar, and I thank him very much. All those who directly and indirectly made this seminar a success certainly deserve our gratitude. Finally, our thanks are due to the Director and the Deputy Director, Prasaranga, University of Mysore who spared no efforts in publishing the proceedings of this Seminar. Dr. A. V. Venkataratnam, my colleague, and Sri K. S. Narayana Rao of the University Press deserve our sincere thanks for the difficult job of proof-reading. I thank the Proprietor of the Vidya Printery for executing the job of printing in an exceedingly nice manner.

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
MANASA GANGOTRI
MYSORE-6.
Dated: July 6, 1972

B. SHEIK ALI
Professor of History and
Director of the Seminar

CONTENTS

		Page
Foreword	...	v
Welcome Speech—*Dr. B. Sheik Ali*	...	1
Inaugural Address—*Prof. D. Javare Gowda*	...	5
Presidential Address—*Dr. T. V. Mahalingam*	...	12
Some Comments on the Hoysaḷa Dynasty —*Dr. J. Duncan M. Derrett*	...	17
Ideal of Kingship in the Hoysaḷa Period —*Dr. B. Sheik Ali*	...	20
A Note on Five Inscriptions of Hoysaḷa Dynasty —*Dr. G. S. Gai*	...	28
Sosēvūr - An Interpretation of the Name —*Sri Hanumantha Rao*	...	31
Origin of the Hoysaḷas—*Dr. B. S. Krishnaswamiengar*	...	38
The Origin of the Hoysaḷas—*Dr. N. Subrahmaniyan*	...	44
Hoysaḷa-Chalukya Relations—*Dr. B. Muddachari*	...	54
Sēūṇa Singhana's Occupation of the Tungabhadrā Region—A Diplomatic and Military Move —*Dr. S. H. Ritti*	...	62
The Hoysaḷas and the Tamil Kingdoms —*Prof. P. G. Edwin*	...	66
Some Important Hoysaḷa Feudatories —*Dr. A. V. Narasimha Murthy*	...	71
The Hoysaḷas and the Tuḷu Country—*Sri K. V. Ramesh*	...	81
The Hoysaḷas and South Kanara District —*Dr. Suryanatha U. Kamath*	...	92
Hoysaḷa Influence in Āndhra-Dēsha —*Dr. (Miss) V. Yasoda Devi*	...	98
Hoysaḷas in Kāñchī—*Dr. K. V. Raman*	...	109
Children of Vishṇuvardhana—*Sri C. K. Nagaraja Rao*	...	115
The Political Significance of the Reign of Vira Sōmēśvara —*Sri B. Surendra Rao*	...	128
Village Autonomy Under the Hoysaḷas —*Dr. A. V. Venkata Ratnam*	...	137

Qualifications of Ministers Under Hoysaḷas
—*Dr. K. R. Basava Raja* ... 141
Land-ownership in the Hoysaḷa Period
—*Dr. G. R. Kuppuswamy* ... 151
Organisation of Trade and Commerce in the Hoysaḷa Period—*Sri G. R. Rangaswamiah* ... 161
The Currency System and Coins of the Hoysaḷas
—*Sri S. Nagaraju* ... 169
Hoysaḷa Temple Architecture—*Dr. M. Seshadri* ... 181
Main Trends in the Hoysaḷa Temple Style
—*Sri K. V. Sundara Rajan* ... 191
Salabhanjikas with Special Reference to the Images of Belur—*Dr. S. Settar* ... 201
Sri Kēdarēśwara Temple at Haḷebīḍu — A Study
—*Dr. Gururaja Rao* ... 215
The Influence of Hoysaḷa Style of Architecture on South Kanara—*Dr. P. Gururaja Bhatt* ... 226
Vestiges of Hoysaḷa Rule in the Tamil Country
—*Dr. V. N. Hari Rao* ... 236
Some temples of the Early Chālukyan Style in North Dharwar District and the Hoysaḷa Architecture
—*Dr. A. Sundara* ... 249
Hoysaḷa and Hemāḍpanti Temples—*Dr. K. N. Chitnis* ... 254
The Authors: Vidyācakravarttins—*Dr. (Miss) S. Janaki* 262
The Kannada Literature Under the Hoysaḷas
—*Dr. G. Varadaraja Rao* ... 286
A Short Note on the Name "Mallitamma", the Hoysaḷa Sculptor— *Dr. M. Chidananda Murthy* ... 299
Śrīvaishṇavism in Hoysaḷa Period—*Sri K. T. Ramaswamy* 304
Jainism Under the Hoysaḷas—*Dr. H. V. Sreenivasa Murthy* 316
Vīraballāḷa III and the Foundation of Vijayanagar Empire—*Dr. M. V. Krishna Rao* ... 326
Ballāḷa III and Vijayanagara—*Dr. P. B. Desai* ... 329
Index ... 345
Our Contributors ... 375

WELCOME SPEECH

—*Prof. B. Sheik Ali*
University of Mysore

IT IS MY PROUD privilege now to extend a very hearty welcome to our beloved Vice-Chancellor, to Professor T. V. Mahalingam, to Prof. Krishna Rao, to the fellow delegates and to one and all present here in this Inaugural Function of the Seminar on Hoysaḷa Dynasty. This Seminar owes its origin to the deep interest of our Vice-Chancellor, who is very keen that our culture, our art, our history and our literature must be presented in their correct perspective. There was a time until very recently when our educational programmes and research had been so oriented as to lay over-emphasis on science and technology, and to treat humanities and social sciences in such a manner, as if they did not share the blood bond with the parent deity, namely Saraswathi, and was merely adopted out of pity lest a frustrated discarded child should not prove dangerous to the more privileged. We are indeed very grateful to you, Sir, for having rectified this position and for according all subjects equal attention and patronage. A noble subject like history, which is the quintessence of human experience, is now coming to its own, after the neglect of decades, and it is certainly now our turn to make the best use of the opportunity offered, so that in the shortest of time we could turn out the largest of good. We feel that a Seminar of this kind is one such device whereby our collective scholarship could be pooled together in order to throw a flood-light on the darker spots, which would otherwise be out of reach of any one individual scholar. We have chosen Hoysaḷa Dynasty for this operation, because of a few reasons. One is the fact that the year 1970 happens to be the millenniary year of the establishment of this dynasty which bequeathed to humanity the world-famous temples of Bēlūr, Haḷebīḍ and Sōmanāthapur. A thousand year is a pretty long time in the life of the Homo-sapiens, and yet

in the realm of art, in exquisite beauty in divine conception of the soul-stirring themes, and in perfect execution of the most delicate delineations of abstract ideas, man has not yet produced anything which surpasses or even-equals what our ancestors did. It is certainly time that we should pay our homage to these mighty people who conceived like giants and finished like jewellers.

Secondly, in bringing about economic prosperity, in treating the subjects with the tender care of parents, in adopting those moral laws which could rightly be called as the directive principles of state policy, and in subordinating their own lower self to catch the divine radiation, so that the heart of the king could reflect the glory of God, the Hoysaḷa monarchs set such an example that it won't be an exaggeration if I were to say that the history of this dynasty forms a golden chapter in the history of Karnāṭaka. The age itself heralded the birth of numerous luminaries not only in the realm of politics, but also in religion, philosophy, literature and architecture, as for example Śrī Basavēśvara, Rāmānujāchārya, Mādhvāchārya, Jakanāchārya, Ponna, Janna and a host of others, whose contributions form the core of our culture.

Our third objective of this Seminar is rather selfish. There was a time when the South was in the vanguard of historical scholarships, and now when we turn round we see no Krishnaswamiengars, no Sreenivasacharis, no Venkateshvarulus, no Shamashastris, no Narasimhachars and no other stalwarts who ransacked the treasures of the past to present us the ornaments of historical scholarship. Year by year quality is being diluted and solid work is becoming as conspicuously absent as horns on the head of a horse. Seminars of this nature, we hope, would make us introspective, so that we could be saved of the slur so often cast on us by our western colleagues, who remark that historical scholarship is alien to Indian genius. We have got to disprove this idea. Look at Japan, an Asian country, which made such marvellous progress. Why not we? It is this selfish desire that prompted us to trouble you here.

Four years ago this Department had organized the All-India History Congress, which I call it a *Kumbha-Mela*, but now we feel that smaller associations like these Seminars, particularly on regional history, could be more useful and would do *yeoman* service in shaking our inertia and making us fit for something really worthy. As if to prove the truth of the saying that child is the father of man, our sister-University had organized a Seminar on Vijayanagar a couple of weeks earlier, although as the Hoysaḷas had preceded Vijayanagar in time sequence our Seminar should have preceded their Seminar. We do not mind this discrepancy because the father is always generous towards the son, and would always be proud if the son were to be more worthy than himself. However, Vijayanagar, the child, would never have been what it was, had not the Hoysaḷas, the father, toiled hard with sweat, tears and blood to pave the way for the glory of its progenitor. In our Seminar the programme is to present about 40 papers covering all aspects of the reign, and to hold a session at Haḷebīḍ, the capital of the dynasty, so that we could be a little reflective, transplant ourselves to the ancient past, and see through our mental eye a glimpse of the creative skill of those masters who are the pride of humanity.

On this occasion we thought of yet another odd thing, namely to remember an Englishman, the father of Epigraphia Carnatica, who stirred us from deep slumber, who dispelled our wrong notions that heaven might fall on our heads if we read those inscriptions, and who opened the flood gate to a new avenue of historical material without which our research would be a figment of imagination. We request our Vice-Chancellor to unveil the photo of this Acharya, Lewis Rice. who was much more than many Pandits, and to whom we shall ever be beholden for those monumental volumes. Here is a classic example of what man could do within a decade or two, given the necessary will and dedication. Nothing great has ever been achieved without enthusiasm and it is this spirit that he inculcated in every scholar.

Finally, a Seminar on Hoysaḷas without an exhibition of somesort, however imperfect and inadequate it might be, would be like a visit to a chocolate factory without tasting any. We are beholden to the Superintending Archæologist, Southern Circle, Madras, to Chief Epigraphist, Government of Mysore, for a small show. I am equally beholden to my revered Professor, a renowned scholar, a great thinker, Dr. M. V. Krishna Rao, who has kindly consented to open the exhibition. At one stage we thought that we could invite some important political leader of Karnāṭaka to preside on this occasion because the contribution of the Hoysaḷas to organisation of political affairs has been so significant that Dr. Derrett, the great authority on Hoysaḷas has summed up the achievement of the dynasty in one word, namely organisation, but at a later stage we revised our idea as we felt that the more solid contribution of the dynasty are in the realm of art and culture and hence a scholar of art and culture should preside on the occasion. We could not have found any one more eminently suited to the task than Professor T. V. Mahalingam of Madras whose scholarship is so solid and profound that we are really honoured that he is delivering the Presidential Address. To our fellow delegates, I seek the apology for not making their stay very comfortable. My only consolation is that historians who live in the past do not mind a few dis-comforts of the present, for their ideal is simple living and high thinking. However, I am deeply conscious of my shortcomings, and I only say that we intend to make good the absence of material comforts by our warm affection and sincere gratitude for your kindness in responding to our invitation.

I crave your indulgence for straying too long into fields outside my purview. My task was simple, namely to welcome you. Therefore I say " you are welcome " and sit down.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

—*Prof. D. Javare Gowda*
Vice-Chancellor, University of Mysore

I AM VERY happy that a Seminar on Hoysaḷa History is being held under the auspices of the Department of Post-graduate Studies and Research in History to mark the millennium of the establishment of the Hoysaḷa Dynasty. I heartily congratulate Prof. B. Sheik Ali and his colleagues who have taken pains to organise this seminar in a meaningful way. The History Department of this University is one of the oldest and has contributed a great deal to the study of the Karnāṭaka History. It was adorned in the past by a great galaxy of eminent historians like S. V. Venkateswara, K. A. Nilakanta Sastry, M. H. Krishna, M. V. Krishna Rao, S. Srikanta Sastry, and others. I am extremely happy that the department is fortunate in having a worthy successor in Dr. Sheik Ali, who is a great scholar and an eminent Professor. It has been the endeavour of these great scholars to unravel the mysteries of the past and to make us conscious of the glory of Karnāṭaka. The University of Mysore is one of the very few universities in India to have a separate department in Ancient History, Archæology and Culture.

The glory of Karnāṭaka has attracted the attention of scholars right from the time of Fleet. Fleet can rightly be called the father of the Study of Karnāṭaka History. His "Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts", though outdated, is a monumental piece of research which inaugurated the tradition of the study of the history of Karnāṭaka Dynasties. Scholars like Bhandarkar, Heras, Salatore, Altekar, Narasimhachar, Rice, Krishna, Nilakanta Sastry, Hayavadana Rao, Derrett, Coelho, Panchamukhi, P. B. Desai and a host of others have laboured hard to reconstruct the story of our history and culture. Thanks to their untiring researches, today, we are in a position to speak of a succession of illustrious dynasties that ruled over this part of the country.

The hoary antiquity of Karnāṭaka has been amply demonstrated by the discovery of stone implements used by the prehistoric men of this region. There is no wonder that early man selected Karnāṭaka as his wandering place because of the advantage of natural rock-shelters, rivers, thick forests and wild animals. Further it was from here the Neolithic man spread to other parts. Prof. Heras' attempts to connect the Indus Valley Civilisation with Karnāṭaka is a remarkable thing. Ancient Karnāṭaka had connections not only with Indus Civilisation but also with far off lands like Egypt and Sumeria. The great epic Mahābhārata and other Purāṇas exhibit a knowledge of Karnāṭaka. Asoka had a special fascination towards Kannada speaking people, as evidenced by his inscriptions discovered at Brahmagiri, Siddāpura, Jatinga Rameśwara, Gavimaṭha, Palkigundu, Koppal and Maski.

Then came the Śātavāhans under whom most parts of Karnāṭaka flourished and the Kadambas who laid firm foundation for Karnāṭaka history and culture (According to the Tāḷagunḍa inscription, Mayūrasharman, a pious brahmana was insulted by the Pallavas at Kāñchī. The self-respect and honour of a Kannadiga was at stake and immediately he sacrificed his education and founded a Kingdom and compelled the Pallavas to recognise him. This was the steadfastness and courage of a Kannadiga worthy of emulation). The Gangas of Talkāḍ who ruled for at least six centuries, contributed largely to the greatness of Karnāṭaka.

Then we enter into one of the most epoch-making periods in Karnāṭaka history. The Chāḷukyas of Bādāmi who gave to this land a Chakravarti of Immadi Pulikēśi's calibre, a terror to Harsha of Uttarapatha, distinguished themselves in the field of arts and architecture. Aihoḷe, Pattadakal and Bādāmi can be ranked among the best centres of art produced by humanity. With the downfall of the Chāḷukyas of Bādāmi, the fortunes of Karnāṭaka Rājyalakshmi assumed greater proportions in the birth of the Rāshṭrakūṭas. Perhaps it was the most illustrious dynasty that ruled over Karnāṭaka and at no time in our history Kannadigas ruled over a larger territory than they did under the

Rāshṭrakūṭas. From the point of view of daring military adventure and political influence Rāshṭrakūṭa's fame spread through the length and breadth of Bharata Varsha. They held sway over the entire Mysore and Maharashtra States, parts of Andhra, Tamilnadu and Madhya Pradesh. The achievements of Kannadigas in the field of literature and art during this period are spectacular. Not only Kannada poets like Ādipampa, Nāgavarma, Ponna, Ranna, but also a host of Sanskrit poets flourished during this age. In the field of architecture, Kailāsa temple at Ellōrā is a masterpiece of the Rāshṭrakūṭas. If a contemporary inscription extols this as the work not of human beings but of heavenly Gods, a Western historian characterises it as one of the wonders of the world.

With the decline of the Rāshṭrakūṭas and the emergence of the Kalyāna Chāḷukyas, Karnāṭaka gains a new dimension. Political solidarity, benevolent administration, development in education are the three main features of this period. In the field of religion this period is a landmark in the entire country. The birth of Basavēśwara heralded a new era in the social and religious history of Karnāṭaka. With the downfall of Kalyāna Chāḷukyas, Karnāṭaka was shared by the Sēvuṇas or the Yādavas and the Hoysaḷas. To crown the achievements of ancient Karnāṭaka, was born Vijayanagar Kingdom which is a fitting finale to the glory of the ancient Karnāṭaka.

Though I am not a historian, I have evinced some interest in understanding the origin of these various dynasties of Karnāṭaka. It is a pity that the older generations of historians have taken a fancy to portray the successive dynasties of Karnāṭaka as being foreigners to this land. To them the Gangas came from Āndhra; the Kadambas were a clan in North India; the Bādāmi Chāḷukyas were the natives of Ayōdhyā; the Rāshṭrakūṭas were original dwellers in Rajasthana; the Hoysaḷas were a Maharashtrian sect and Vijayanagar was an Āndhra foundation. In fact, many of our present day boundary problems may be due to these wrong interpretations of history. I am glad that scholars like Lakshminarayana Rao have proved that Chāḷukyas were

indigenous people and the young historians like Dr. A. V. Narasimha Murthy have conclusively proved that the Yādavas or the Sēvuṇas were Kannadigas and not a Marathi speaking people. A name like Dhadiyappa cannot occur in Marathi area but is common in Karnāṭaka. I am convinced that the Rāshṭrakūṭas, the Hoysaḷas, the Chāḷukyas and others are the products of the soil of *Kannadanāḍu*. In many of these instances, as a historian puts it "Genealogy making was a pastime of the 11th century Bards". Most of these ruling dynasties had to reconcile their humble origin with great achievements. In such cases Dvārāvatipura, Yaduvamsha, Ayōdhyā and other celebrated cities and vamshas came in very handy. Not all the dynasties who call themselves "*Dvārāvatipuravarādhiśvara*" (ದ್ವಾರಾವತೀಪುರವರಾಧೀಶ್ವರ) came from Dvārāvati.

About the Hoysaḷas in whose honour this Seminar is arranged, I may say a few words. The word Hoysaḷa has a special fascination for a Kannadiga. It symbolises the cultural achievements of Karnāṭaka. The contribution of this Dynasty to the main stream of Indian Culture has been quite significant, particularly in the fields of art, architecture, literature, religion, philosophy and political organisation. There is some force in the statement that all that is good and great in the east has gone into the building of temples, and in this task of building the temples few dynasties in India could excel the Hoysaḷas, who have bequeathed to humanity such exquisite pieces of art that they have become wonders of the world. The temples at Bēlūr, Haḷebīḍ and Sōmanāthapur have rightly become a place of pilgrimage for the lovers of art from the four corners of the globe. The art and architecture of this period entitle themselves to be styled after the Hoysaḷas, though scholars like Henry Cousens do not differentiate between the Chāḷukya and Hoysaḷa styles.

The Hoysaḷa monarchs were quite conscious of the political thought of the past ages, and they enforced the ancient principles of the art of Government to the best of their ability. They regarded the task of ruling as a very sacred duty. Their organisational ability and administrative efficiency made them

supreme in the south, their region extending from the Krishna to Kāñchī. The main tenet of their political policy was '*dusta nigraha sista paripalanam*'. The Hoysaḷa age may be rightly regarded as an age of democratisation of education and learning. The monarchs evinced extraordinary interest in popularising education by creating *Brahmapuris, Shivapuris, Agrahāras, Maṭhas* and *Ghaṭikāsthānas.*

The Hoysaḷa age is quite significant in the domain of religion and philosophy as well. All the four principal creeds of the period, namely, Brahmanism, Buddhism, Jainism and Veeraśaivism were flourishing side by side. Even so late as 1055 a Buddhist Vihāra was erected at Beḷgāmi, although the Buddhists were not numerous in the south. Jainism was the sole creed until Biṭṭidēva was converted to Vaishṇavism. In an endeavour to accommodate itself to the age, Jina is described in 1151 A.D. as the universal spirit, who is *Śiva, Dhātri (Brahma), Sugata (Buddha)* and *Vishṇu.* Thanks to Rāmānuja the influence of Vaishṇavism was quite profound. Likewise peacefully and steadily Mādhvāchārya also propagated the Mādhva sect in the South Kanara which spread throughout Karnāṭaka. Thanks to Śrī Basavanna and Śrī Rāmānuja the way was paved for the subsequent religious fervour known as Bhakti movement, which levelled down all barriers of caste and creed and took its stand on the bedrock of humanity. Religious toleration is the spirit of the age as is evidenced in the following elegant stanza from the Bēlūr Inscription :

ಯಂ ಶೈವಾಸ್ಸಮುಪಾಸತೇ ಶಿವ ಇತಿ ಬ್ರಹ್ಮೇತಿ ವೇದಾಂತಿನೋ
ಬೌದ್ಧಾ ಬುದ್ಧ ಇತಿ ಪ್ರಮಾಣಪಟವಃ ಕರ್ತೇತಿ ನೈಯ್ಯಾಯಿಕಾಃ
ಅರ್ಹನ್ನಿತ್ಯಥ ಜೈನ ಶಾಸನರತಾಃ ಕರ್ಮೇತಿ ಮೀಮಾಂಸಕಾಃ
ಸೋಯಂ ವೋ ವಿದಧಾತು ವಾಂಛಿತಫಲಂ ಶ್ರೀಕೇಶವೇಶಸ್ಸದಾ

The three great monarchs namely Vishṇuvardhna, Vīraballāḷa II and Ballāḷa III symbolise the marvellous achievements of the Hoysaḷa age. Vishṇuvardhana freed the Gangavādi country from the Chōḷas. His chief queen Shāntaḷadēvi has become a legend in Karnāṭaka. An inscription extols her in the following stanza.

ಸತತಂ ನೋಟಿಪ್ಪೊಡೆ ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮಿದೇವತೆ ರಣವ್ಯಾಪಾರದೊಳ್ ಖಿಲ್ಲಿದೇ
ವತೆ ಬಿಣ್ಪಿಂದಮೆ ಭೂಮಿದೇವತೆ ಜನಕ್ಕೆಲ್ಲಂದದಿಂ ಪುಣ್ಯದೇ
ವತೆ ವಾಗ್ದೇವತೆ ವಿದ್ಯೆಯೊಳ್ ಸಕಳ ಕಾರ್ಯೋದ್ಯೋಗದೊಳ್‌ಮಂತ್ರದೇ
ವತೆ ನಾಘಂಗೆನೆ ಶಾಂತಿದೇವಿಯಸದಿನ್ನೇ ಪಣ್ಣೆಪಂ ಬಣ್ಣೆಪಂ (ಹಾಸನ, ೧೧೬)

Vīraballāḷa II gave the Hoysaḷas the imperial status. It was an act of shrewd diplomacy that Ballāḷa III appointed Harihara as an officer and posted him to rule at Hampi, thus laying the foundation for the future Vijayanagara kingdom. In modern parlance, it is like the transfer of power from one dynasty to another without any bloodshed

Kannada and Sanskrit literatures flourished alike in the Hoysaḷa age. The imperial Hoysaḷas and their feudatories immortalised themselves by patronising such great men of letters as Nāgachandra, Nēmichandra, Rudrabhaṭṭa, Rājāditya, Andayya, Janna and a host of others. Harihara and Raghavanka also belong to the same age. Some of the authors of the inscriptions of this period were composers of high merit. The utter defeat and humility suffered by Chōḷa king Rājēndra at the hands of Vishṇuvardhana have been portrayed very well in the following stanza :

ಎಲೆ ಕಾವೇರಿಯೆ ವಾರಿಕೂಡೆ ಪೊಲಿಸಾದತ್ತೆಂದು ಪೇವೈಸುತುಂ
ಕೆಲದೊಳ್ ಕೂಪಜಳಾಶಿಯಬ್ಬಿನೆಗಮಾ ರಾಜೇಂದ್ರ ಚೋಳಂ ಭುಜಾ
ಬಲದಿಂ ವಿಷ್ಣು ತದೀಯ ಸೇನೆಯ ಪೆಣಂಗಳ್ ತನ್ನದೀಪುರದೊಳ್
ನೆಲಸಲ್ ವಿಕ್ರಮ ಕೇಳಿಯಂ ಮೆಱೆದನತ್ಯುಗ್ರಪ್ರತಾಪೋದಯಂ (ಬೇಲೂರು, ೫೮)

The water of the river Cauvery became so polluted by the dead bodies of the Chōḷa soldiers, that Rājēndra Chōḷa could not use the water. In another inscription the valour of Vishṇuvardhana is described thus :

ಜಿನನುಂ ತನ್ನಯ ಗಂಡ ಲಚ್ಚಣಮೆನಿಪ್ಪಾ ವಿಾಸೆಯಂತಿರ್ದರಿಂ
ಜುರ್ವಿಂ ಕಂದುಗುಮೆಂದು ಕಾಲುಗುರ್ಗಳಂ ನಮ್ಮಾರಿಗಳ್ ಸುಯ್ಯಲಂ
ಜುರ್ವಿಂ ತೇಜದ ಬೆಂಕಿಯಿಂದಮೆಮೆ ಸೀಗೆಂದುದ್ದತರ್ ನೋಡಲಂ
ಜುವಿನಂ ವಿಕ್ರಮ ವಿಭ್ರಮಂ ಸೊಗಯಿಸಿತ್ತೀ ವಿಷ್ಣುಭೂಪಾಳನೊಳ್

Even Yama was afraid of trimming his moustache ; the defeated enemy kings when bent low to touch his feet were afraid that the exhaled air may touch the nail of his feet, they were unable to look at the glittering face of the emperor because

of its brilliance. Such was Vishṇuvardhana. In another Narasimha's valour is described thus :

ಪಡೆಮಾತೇಂ ಬಂದು ಕಂಡಂಗಮೃತ ಜಳಧಿ ತಾಂ ಗರ್ವದಿಂ ಗಂಡಪಾತಂ
ನುಡಿಪಾತಂಗೇನನೆಂಬೈ ಪ್ರಳಯ ಸಮಯದೊಳ್ ಮೇರೆಯಂ ಮಿಾಱಿ ಬರ್ಪ
ಕಡಲಿನ್ನಂ ತಾಳನೆನ್ನಂ ಮುಳಿದ ಕುಳಿತನನ್ನಂ ಯುಗಾಂತಾಗ್ನಿಯನ್ನಂ
ಸಿಡಿಲನ್ನಂ ಸಿಂಗದನ್ನಂ ಪುರಹರನುರಿಗಣ್ಣನನ್ನನೇ ನಾರಸಿಂಹಂ (ನಾಗಮಂಗಲ, ೧೫)

These are just a few specimens of poetry found in inscriptions. I am of the opinion that though a lot of research work has been done on Hoysaḷas, still a lot more remains to be done. What we know of them is too general and partial. As a layman, I have always felt the need for further work in the study of the Hoysaḷas and I earnestly appeal to you, scholars who are assembled here to give your thought to some of these problems :

1. The origin of the dynasty and the histricity of Saḷa.
2. Vishṇuvardhana's Conversion to Vaishṇavism.
3. Hoysaḷa relations with major and minor dynasties.
4. A study of the administrative machinery of the Hoysaḷas.
5. Further elucidation of the connections between Hoysaḷas and Vijayanagar empire.
6. To cull out the historical information from the literature of the period.
7. The problem of Hoysaḷa style of art.
8. Preparation of a corpus of Hoysaḷa inscriptions and
9. Conducting archæological excavations at the major Hoysaḷa centres.

Under the able guidance of Prof. T. V. Mahalingam, Dr. M. V. Krishna Rao, Dr. Sheik Ali and Dr. Seshadri, I am sure, you will be engaged in discussing the various problems on the Hoysaḷas and I hope your scholarly deliberations will contribute significantly towards the elucidation of the problems of Karnāṭaka history in general and Hoysaḷa history in particular. With this fervent hope, I have great pleasure in inaugurating this Seminar on Hoysaḷa Dynasty.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

— *Prof. T. V. Mahalingam*
University of Madras

I AM EXTREMELY grateful to the organisers of this Seminar on Hoysaḷa history for the opportunity they have given me to associate myself with its inauguration function. My qualifications for the presidentship of this function are very little. I have not done any serious work on the reconstruction of the 'History of the Hoysaḷas' or the elucidation of the many problems relating to different aspects of the history of this great dynasty. Anyway I welcome this opportunity which gives me an occasion to share some of my thoughts with the distinguished scholars who are assembled here.

Seminars of this kind have their own value. Many of us study the history of certain regions and dynasties and write on them in the form of books and articles. But we do not generally have occasions to meet and discuss problems relating to the subjects on which we are writing. It is seminars of this kind that give us a common platform from which we can exchange our views on questions relating to subjects of our research. It is only last month that a Seminar on the history of Vijayanagar was organised by the History Department of the Karnāṭaka University. Today we are meeting here at this Seminar on Hoysaḷa History organised by the History Department of the Mysore University. It is good that the medieval history of Karnāṭaka is receiving the serious attention of scholars interested in the history of this region.

The Hoysaḷa empire was fortunate from the point of view of the area over which it spread and the period during which it flourished. By the 10th century A.D. the Ganga kingdom as also the Kadamba kingdom had exhausted themselves on the lower Karnāṭaka region. A number of minor dynasties were coming into prominence, often fighting against one another. In the north, the Chāḷukyas were a mighty power and farther

north were the Yādavas of Dēvagiri; in the north-east, the Kākatīyas were a powerful dynasty of rulers. The Chōḷas of the Tamil country, who had risen to imperial heights by then were trying to conquer the lower Karnāṭaka and establish their hegemony over it. What Karnāṭaka wanted at that time was strong rule by a powerful dynasty of rulers who could stem the tide of foreign invasions and protect the independence of Karnāṭaka and contribute to its cultural growth. And that was done by the Hoysaḷas, who hold a very important place in the medieval Karnāṭaka history. They successfully resisted the aggressions by outside powers, though not infrequently they sustained reverses also. The Hoysaḷas were an indigenous dynasty of rulers. Though the origin of this dynasty is still shrouded in mystery, there can be no doubt that it was a local dynasty coming up from the hilly regions of the north-western parts of lower Karnāṭaka. The history of this dynasty which held sway for about three centuries is certainly one of great interest to students of Indian history in general and South Indian history in particular.

Among the major problems with regard to the history of the Hoysaḷas, one relates to its origin itself. Traditions affirm that its origin is to be traced to a chieftain who fought a tiger at the instance of a sage and killed it. And the dynasty itself came to be named after the person and the event. Similar stories regarding the origin of a few other dynasties are found, recorded in literature. How far much history can be called from such legends and traditions is a matter for careful investigation.

The contributions of the Hoysaḷas to religion were considerable. Originally Jains and the patrons of Jainism, they later adopted Vaishṇavism as their creed from the days of Biṭṭidēva who came to be known as Vishṇuvardhana after his *conversion* to Vaishṇavism. According to Vaishṇava tradition, he was 'converted' to Vaishṇavism by Śrī Rāmānuja, who originally flourished in the Chōḷa country and migrated to Mysore on account of persecution by the Chōḷa king of the period. It is for careful examination whether this traditional

account contains much historical truth. Though Vishṇuvardhana patronized Vaishṇavism and Rāmānuja, the Hoysaḷa support to Jainism and Jaina institutions did not stop on that account. A careful and objective study of all the available material on the subject has to be made to have a correct understanding of the problem. The period also saw the emergence of the Mādhva school of Vaishṇavism with Mādhvāchārya as its founder, who flourished in the thirteenth century. Other theistic religions like Saivism in its different aspects, Vīrasaivism, as also minor religious cults received considerable encouragement during the period. Thus a study of the religious conditions in the Karnāṭaka country under the Hoysaḷas should claim a large share of our attention in this Seminar.

The Karnāṭaka country had close political and cultural relations with parts of the Tamil country. Even before the days of Pallavas, the Kaḷabhras probably from the Karnāṭaka country occupied the parts of Tamil country, and if later traditions and inscriptions are to be believed, upset many of the existing political and cultural institutions. During the days of the Pallavas, the Gangas of Taḷakāḍ, who were fighting against them were closely connected with the Pāṇḍyas. Some of the Karnāṭaka dynasties even appear to have established their '*pockets*' in parts of the Tamil country. This tradition continued during the days of the Hoysaḷas, who while fighting frequently against the Chōḷas were invariably siding with and helping the Pāṇḍyas against their northern neighbour. Such political conflicts did not however adversly effect the flow of cultural influences either from Karnāṭaka to Tamiḻnāḍu or from Tamiḻnāḍu to Karnāṭaka. The Hoysaḷa activities in Tamiḻnāḍu during the thirteenth century left indelible impress on some of the aspects of the culture and institutions of the land. Hoysaḷa art has in some places influenced the art in the Tamil country, a few examples of which may be seen in the Tiruchirappalli and the Dharmapuri districts. Likewise the Chōḷa penetration in the Hoysaḷa country resulted in greater encouragement of some religious cults as also in the construction of temples of the Dravidian order by the Chōḷa kings and their chieftains in parts

of the Karnāṭaka country. Likewise the Hoysaḷa influence over the Telugu country and *vice-versa* requires careful study and assessment.

The Hoysaḷa period marks an important epoch in the history of the Kannada language and literature, when the kings extended their full patronage to literary activity. The poets during the period, their works and the subjects they deal with generally have to be carefully studied as also the general and particular characteristics of the language of the works produced during this period. Likewise, the literary merits of Kannada inscriptions as also the development of the Kannada script require sustained study. It was this period that saw the change from the old Kannada to middle Kannada.

South Indian administrative institutions can be studied with the help of numerous Hoysaḷa inscriptions in the area. The Karnāṭaka region is particularly rich in inscriptions that contain useful data to trace the development of or the changes in the machinery of administration from time to time. Many of the administrative divisions, institutions, methods of organisation and administrative terms mentioned in the inscriptions found in the Karnāṭaka portion of the Vijayanagara empire can be understood only in the background of our knowledge of the terms used to denote the administrative divisions, institutions and organisations in the Ganga and the Hoysaḷa inscriptions.

Hoysaḷa art is a subject of enrapturing interest. It had its special features and peculiar characteristics. Unfortunately, our knowledge of Hoysaḷa art is still not full. All our knowledge is largely based on a study of only the well-known Hoysaḷa monuments like those at Sōmanāthpur, Bēlūr and Haḷebīḍ, besides a few others. But there are hundreds of such monuments about which our knowledge is very meagre. A complete survey of these monuments and descriptive accounts of them will be very helpful to gain a good knowledge of the artistic treasures of medieval Karnāṭaka. A comparative study of the later Chāḷukya and Hoysaḷa art is necessary to understand the development of the main features of the medieval art of the Karnāṭaka.

An equally important aspect of the history of the Hoysaḷas relates to the economic life of Karnāṭaka under the Hoysaḷas. Problems relating to agriculture, industries, trade guilds, currency and prices and other aspects of the economic conditions in the Hoysaḷa empire require careful and detailed study. A few articles have of course been published in the Mysore University Journal and a few periodicals on the subject but much remains to be done on it particularly because there is now available a large volume of epigraphical material bearing on it. Such a study is necessary to form an integrated picture of the economic history of South India as a whole in the medieval period.

It is a fact that some of the great rulers of South India have not received that much of attention at the hands of scholars that they deserve. We know more about the founders and builders of kingdoms than about those that strove hard to save them from destruction. Though they did not succeed in their attempts, their work was really commendable in that direction. Among such rulers mention may be made of Hoysaḷa Vīra Ballāḷa III. The part played by Vīra Ballāḷa III in the politics of South India till his death and his responsibility for the foundation of the Vijayanagar empire, if he had any, require fresh and objective study.

One of the problems on the foundation and early history of the Vijayanagara empire relates to the part played by the Śṛingēri *Maṭha* and Vidyāranya in them. The Śṛingēri *Maṭha* became a *samasthāna* in the Vijayanagara period and received considerable patronage and support from its kings. But the earlier position and history of the *maṭha* in the Hoysaḷa period is shrouded in mystery. Its position in the Hoysaḷa period is a subject which requires careful investigation.

I should very much like that this Seminar on Hoysaḷa History devotes some time to a consideration of atleast a few of the problems I have indicated above and contribute not only its success but also to our better understanding of the place of the Hoysaḷas in the history of South India and its culture.

Thank you Mr. Vice-Chancellor and friends.

SOME COMMENTS ON THE HOYSAḶA DYNASTY

—*Prof. J. Duncan M. Derrett*
London University

I AM DELIGHTED to hear of the millenniary celebrations of the founding of the Hoysaḷa Dynasty. What a pity I cannot be in Mysore to enjoy the event! The occasion inspires me to make a few comments, and perhaps I may ask you to communicate them to the participants in the celebrations, in lieu of a piece of research work, which I should dearly have loved to send you for the volume, but which my ordinary duties now preclude me from doing.

What I have to say has no relevance to the current Indian scene, and all correspondences with what goes on today in Mysore are entirely accidental, fortuitous, unintentional, and coincidental.

When I think of what the Hoysaḷa Dynasty achieved I am bound to think of the word 'organisation' as applied in an Indian context. There are senses in which Indians are incapable of organisation, and they were certainly not more capable of it a thousand years ago. What enabled the Hoysaḷas to control, lead, expand, and develop culturally, and in other ways, so large a territory based on the dry and relatively unprofitable territory of Mysore, was not physical prowess, not their racial descent from hill tribes and relatively uncultured people, but their capacity to offer leadership to the very mixed and ill-organised population of the plains. There is no doubt but that Vishṇuvardhana and his descendants offered much more to their Kannaḍa-speaking contemporaries than the rival dynasties could offer. They were local, their lines of communication were shorter, their relationships with village and district notables were closer, and their resentment was to be feared more intimately. Thus they could become a centre or focus of loyalty and reciprocal ties like the hub of a wheel. The fact

that the earliest Hoysaḷas were originally outsiders to, and independent of, all the plain communities to which they offered protection was an enormous advantage: and so they were able to build up from scratch a clientele of connections of various kinds, and to hold these in mutual tension, like the hub, the spokes, and the felloe of a wheel.

New people, marginal people, people from the edge of society, have something to offer to all the settled groups which already suspect and mistrust each other. And when Vishṇuvardhana offered all of them collectively not only the chance to avoid sending money to northern and richer areas, but also the chance to incorporate within their own mutual-assistance scheme some rich areas in the northwest of the Gaṅga country, they were delighted. And the accumulated resources were spent at home, nominally in religious and quasi-religious endowments, but actually to enrich the quality of life in all respects in the immediate neighbourhood of the taxpayer. I suspect the Hoysaḷas did precious little for the inhabitants of their original mountainous homeland. Naturally the inhabitants of the northwestern territories had gained in the past from looking to their north and east, and the semi-predatory Hoysaḷa invasions from the drier south were a mixed blessing, to say the least. It is not surprising that a good deal of energy had to be devoted to keeping them quiet, and this should have warned the ruling family against involvements elsewhere.

Success breeds success. The successful who were once nobodies can develop swollen heads. Advisers who turn out to be sycophants can play upon conceit, even reasonably-based conceit. The opportunity to interfere in the politics of the Tamiḻnāḍ was too great a temptation to resist. But was the cost dreamed of? The Tamiḻnāḍ was a pool in which to fish, but the Haysaḷas eventually drowned in it. They were pushed from behind, in that their Karṇāṭaka subjects in the northwest were not persuaded that gains to the empire in the south would be as useful to them as a possible independence. And they could not protect themselves from falling in, because they had become denatured.

The corruption of wealth in the hands of those not born to it, not hereditarily accustomed to it, is well known. Secure poverty is better for the character. The unfortunate Hoysaḷa subjects found themselves caught up turning around the hub of a wheel which had rotted, the spokes falling apart, not to speak of the felloe of the wheel. The descendants of Ballāḷa II could not stand the effects of succeeding in Tamil politics. Some of them lost their Kannaḍa qualities. A family dispute broke out. A partition of the family led to a partition of the empire, costly, not economical. The hub of the Indian imperial wheel was always a man, but an Indian man, a man in Indian society, in an Indian family; and the health of the family was the health of the empire. The Hoysaḷas ceased to be healthy, and the empire fell. The Vijayanagara brothers slowly picked up the pieces.

How much of this pathetic story is related in cryptic episodes and allusive situations in the great literature of the late Hoysaḷa period? The question awaits the historian, and Dr. (Miss) S.S. Janaki has shown what can be done by a patient piecing together of what remains of the great compositions which the imperial patrons inspired.

The history of the Hoysaḷas is not so much dead matter. Their rise and their fall was only one spasm in the long-drawn-out convulsions of the Indian body politic.

IDEAL OF KINGSHIP IN THE HOYSAḶA PERIOD

—*Prof. B. Sheik Ali*
University of Mysore

THIS PAPER IS devoted to the discussion of certain concepts which influenced the Hoysaḷa monarchs in the administration of the land. We shall start by saying in Toynbeean method what Hoysaḷa state was not, and then proceed to say what it was. It was neither a military state, nor a theocracy, nor a constitutional monarchy, nor tyranny modified by expediency. It is Dr. Derrett, the renowned Western Scholar of the Hoysaḷas, who advances the last mentioned concept. It was not a police-raj or a military state or dictatorship or despotism because it never rested on the mere physical force without roots in the soil or support from the masses. It was not a theocracy because it was not a government in which God was regarded as the sole sovereign, because the government was not devoted primarily to the achievements of religious ends, because the laws were not administered by any organised priesthood or a sacredotal order claiming divine commission, and because the two societies, civil and religious, were entirely incorporated. It had been the tradition of the Sassanids in Iran, the Sultans in Delhi and the Stuarts in England to base their political theory on a bit of divinity. They declared the Kingship to be the Vice-regency of God on earth, and the King was placed on a divine pedestal. But the Hoysaḷa monarchs did nothing of this sort either. It was not a constitutional monarchy because the King had not entrusted the legislative activity either to the masses direct or to their representatives. It was not tyranny modified by expediency because such a situation envisages absolute despotism tempered with the necessity to adjust only on those occasions where the monarchs own position was at stake. Expediency involves a policy which does not have any set and firm root. It is an action that is speedily decided and swiftly

executed to meet a situation which would otherwise have gone out of hand. Expediency knows of no principle, no law, no tradition, no precedence, but is merely a handy instrument to win the point without any scruple of either pricking the conscience of any or breaking the tradition of the past. The Hoysaḷa monarchs did not adopt this course of action.

To the question as to what was the ideal of Hoysaḷa Kingship, the answer is not simple, because the political thinkers have not yet devised a suitable term to convey the full concept of the complicated picture that existed at the period. We reject the view that it was "tyranny modified by expediency" and venture to advance the theory that it was "monarchy tempered with *Dharma*." But *dharma* itself is a difficult term to define. Few words in the vocabulary of any language would have such connotation as the word *dharma* of the Sanskrit language. Its meaning could range anything from parting a paise to a deaf, dumb, blind and mute beggar to the kicking of pomp, pleasure, realm and throne for a principle, just as Rama did in obedience to the command of a father, who might have been, after all, most ill-advised. *Dharma* could be anything from a child's confession of knocking away a bit of sweet to Harishchandra's scrupulous adherence to truth, no matter what the consequences are. It was this righteousness and moral force that was supposed to sharpen the King's conscience, and to uphold truth and justice. The three factors that shape the political outlook and ideal of any monarchy are law, tradition and expediency. Of these it is not expediency that was the most powerful factor has been already discussed above. Therefore, the principles that mattered most during the Hoysaḷa period were those of law and tradition. The law that was in force was not the legislative law that we know of to-day but the moral law or the law of *dharma* that was implicit in the culture of the country.

Let us examine how far this moral law was actually put into force. Numerous inscriptions of the dynasty do emphasize the fact that the King had assumed the honours of the Kingdom only for the sake of good government. The ruler had to govern the country like a father putting down the evil and

upholding the good. Even Dr. Derrett accepts the fact that the main dictum of the monarchs was "dus'ta-nigraha, s'ista paripālana." This was indeed always recognised as the special function of sovereignty. The King was tutored, trained and constantly reminded of the fact that the happiness of his subjects was his own happiness. When this idea was incessantly drilled into his ears, it had the natural effect of bringing about general peace and contentment. Although certain pomp, show and splendour were indeed essential for the dignity of the monarchy, the monarch himself rid of all conceit, pride and haughtiness by the built-in concept of true monarchy. The term *dore* or master or King was vey sacred and could never be applied to men of straw (hut-manasara). The people would never accept a stone to be a jewel, and if the established ideal of Kingship was neutralized in any way, there was the law, the tradition, the custom, the council and the *dharma* that restrained him. Religion was a powerful factor in the medieval period, and religion in India is always linked with profound philosophy, and the core of this philosophy is *Dharma* which a King could ignore only at his own peril. An inscription in the Bayire-deva temple at Chalya dated 1125 A.D. describes Vishṇuvardhana as one of the great *Kshatriyas* of the world, who displayed the pure *Kshatriya-dharma*, the other three being, Rāma, Dilīpa and Kṛishṇarāja.[1] The very mention of the name of Rāma conjures up sentiments of the highest value in any Hindu, and the association of Vishṇuvardhana with this divine name would fix up certain moral responsibilities, which he could never ignore. The point could be proved by an actual illustration. Vishṇuvardhana took under his protection Chinnadaṇḍanatha's son, Vishṇudaṇḍādhipa.[2] Very soon he became the King's favourite, and quickly rose to the highest position. He was made *Mahāprachadaṇḍadanātha and Sarvādhikāri.* He was called sumadi daṇḍanāyaka, the title owned only by the most famous generals like Gangarāja. Despite all these favours this youth could not be taken into royal council, *Pancha-Pradhān*

1. E.C. V, Channarayapatna, 149.
2. E.C. Bēlūr, 17.

because custom and *dharma* demanded that only the senior-most members of the department should be the councillors. It should not have been an impossible task in a despotism to override the seniority, but this was not just possible because the action would have been contrary to the implicit law of *dharma*. An inscription in the Jaina basti at Bommēnhaḷḷi dated 1182 A.D. refers to a title of Vīra Ballāḷa II as *Sad-dharma-buddhi* which proves again the point that no Hoysaḷa ruler could transgress his limits outside the bonds of *dharma*. This *dharma* blazened the royal trial with illumination, if the intentions were noble and it haunted like a nightmare, if the intentions were ignoble. One more illustration could be cited. One of the queens of Vīra Ballāḷa II (1173–1220), Chōḷa Mahā-dēvi, regrets deeply when the punishment accorded to a few persons exceeded the gravity of their offence. She felt so remorseful that she took immediate steps to console them and commanded her officers thus, "We have caused pain to our children. You go and console them with our words."[1] The significance of this inscription lies in the fact that generally rulers rarely own their own faults, short-comings and excesses, and that even when compelling factors make them change their stand, they would so traverse the fact as always to put the blame on the other side. Royalty assumes that it is always infalliable and that regrets would immediately expose its weak-ness. When the Queen goes out of the way to confess the excesses that were needlessly committed and regrets deeply that pain was caused to "the children", it is not so much politics that is involved but love and sentiment, which brings us to the second important concept apart from *dharma* that influenced the Hoysaḷa monarchs, namely the element of sentiment in politics.

Indian Society is basically different from the Western in its approach to both private and public affairs. The Western Society is stern, rigid and matter of fact in its dealings of public affairs, but it is sentiment, emotion and personal attach-

1. E.C. V, Channarayapatna, 179.

ment that counts most even in politics in India. The point could be proved by the inscription in Hoysaḷēśvara temple at Haḷebiḍ dated about 1220 A.D. which refers to Ballāḷa II's minister Kuvara Lakshma as being cherished by the King as a son *(Ballāḷa-nāipam-poreda magam)*.[1] In official matters the relation between servant and the master are not expected to be such as of son and father. Western Society in the interest of discipline builds up a different concept of "your most humble obedient servant" or "spare the rod, spoil the child', or "do or die but not question why". In India it is the blood bond that is invoked to build up loyalty, fidelity and devotion. The minister is taken as the son of King and the subjects were considered as the children of the monarch. The inscription under reference says that between the servant and the King there was no difference and that they protected the earth for bringing about prosperity. Kumāra Lakshma is spoken of in this inscription as "hand-mirror" in which the King's palace was his own cradel, his bounty the oil for his mouth, and his guru and deity alike was his ruler both for this world and the next. The comparison of hand-mirror is very significant because it establishes complete identity of interests between the subject and the object without any conflict, as the domain and duty of both are entirely different. In philosophical terms it could prove that the King could never know what he is unless he holds the mirror, and thus the minister is irrevocably linked to the monarch in clearly defined bonds, but all for the same purpose, namely the larger good of the largest number. Indian political thought leans heavily in showering encomiums even on servants as a recognition of their services, but the Western monarchs assume that the servant did no more than what was expected of him. When we read any royal charter of east and west, the point becomes clear. Our Bēlūr inscription describes Kuvara-Lakshma "as the founder of the greatness of Ballāḷa and the cause of his prosperity".[2] We have yet to come across any royal charter of any Henry, or George or Edward who

1. E.C. V, Bēlūr, 112.
2. E.C. V, 112.

describes his minister as his son, or his mirror, or his dagger, or the founder of his greatness or the cause of his prosperity. This approach does not flow from expediency because it is showered after the deed is done, and the King was not obliged to be so enthusiastic in praise of his servant. This is because of the very structure of Indian mental make up. It is the entire oriental trait, whether of Indian or Iranian or Saracenic or Egyptian, where the expression of affection is not limited to a simple "Thank you" or "much obliged" but to the pouring of heart in a poetic manner. Very often it is not empty phraseology but the outcome of sincere feelings of gratitude to those who are involved in the reconstruction of Society and the administration of State.

The third feature of the Kingship was its organic nature which had completely unified Kingship in the structure of the State. It was a part and parcel of the system, and yet had a unique and distinctive function of its own. Its paramountcy was accepted by all, and all other functionaries, whether *Yuvarāja*, or Queen, or *Pancha-Pradhān* were all subsidiary to him, but the King himself could not act in vacuum or quite independent of others. Just as the human brain, which is so vital, functions only when all other organs co-operate with it, and when all faculties are alert, so also the King functioned only in unison with "*saptānga*" or seven attributes, namely the king, the ministers, the priest, the army, the territory, the treasury and the *mitru* or friends. Few dynasties of Karnāṭaka exhibited greater harmony among, and mere successful functioning of, the *Saptānga* than the Hoysaḷa dynasty, with the result that among the thirteen monarchs of the dynasty, as many as ten could be rated as very worthy rulers. Knowing the nature of monarchy as we do which quickly degenerates with despotism and decay, the Hoysaḷa record is exceedingly refreshing. Only three of the rulers, Narasiṁha I, Nripakāma and Vinayāditya I were weaklings. Vishṇuvardhana, Vīra Ballāḷa II, Narasiṁha II, Vīra Sōmēs'vara, could all be rated as top monarchs, who played the political game with utmost skill, and strictly in accordance with the rules and regulations laid down by the

ancient sages and thinkers such as Manu, Yājñavalkya and Chānakya. Some of them played their part so well that the Arkalgode inscription speaks of Vīra Ballāḷa II's reign as Rāma Rājya, a certificate of the highest value.[1] At the height of power Ballāḷa II's personal visit to the border of a province to settle a boundary dispute between two villages indicates the personal exertions of the monarch to fulfil the concept that the King was an organic part of the Society, where a slight prick of the thorn in the flesh down below at the foot sends the urgent impulse to the brain, up in the head quickly to act and do the needful. Whenever our inscriptions of the time depict the conditions of the people, they pay scrupulous attention to the same organic concept and mention every section and strata of the Society. As for example a thirteenth century inscription describes the conditions thus, " The Brahmans were versed in the Vēdas, the guards were brave, the traders wealthy, the fourth caste of unshaken speech, the women beautiful, the labourers submissive", and so on.[2] This is as if saying, while describing the health of a person, that his eye-sight is sharp, his hearing is sound, his heart is robust, his mind is alert and his limbs are strong. They could have simply stated that the general health is good, but the idea was to pay equal attention to every organ of the body. The King was only a part in it, although a very important one. He was something like a governor in a machine, and the machine itself would not work even if a tiny bit, a nut, a bolt, were to be loose in it. But the quality of the governor determined the quality of the entire machinery. Vishṇuvardhana and Ballāḷa II were very superior and excellent parts who made the machinery work very well, but Nripakāma and Vinayāditya were relatively inferior in stuff, and caused breakdown in the functioning of the entire body-politic. Therefore the King was an integral part of the system and he did not function on his own independent of other parts.

In conclusion we say that Hoysaḷa monarchs were quite conscious of the political thought of the ages past. They

1. E.C. V, Arakalgode, 71.
2. E.C. V, Ak, 77.

implemented it to the best of their ability. They considered the task of ruling over the people as a sacred and serious duty which should be discharged in all seriousness and with full responsibility, and not as an ordinary or trifling matter. They felt as if the heart of the King reflected the glory of God, and that it should continue to catch the divine radiance. This was possible only by the adoption of *dharma* as the directive principle of State policy. If one needs any positive proof of this feature, one has only to go to Bēlūr, or Haḷebiḍ or Sōmanāthapur to find the *dharma* taking the articulated form in the shape of those marvellous pieces of art, which human ingenuity had ever conceived. It is not merely an exuberant outer manifestation of man's skill to reach the perfection level in the realm of beauty and art, but also the inner urge for the purification of heart and soul so that man's conduct both in public and private should be in accordance with the divine law of *dharma*. The King's anxiety was to live in such a way that all his acts, deeds, orders and movements were as much appreciated as his efforts to build those rare and unique temples. If any more evidence is wanted, one has only to turn his attention to the religious fervour of the period, which produced Basavēs'wara, Rāmānujāchārya, Mādhvāchārya and a host of other *Bhakti* teachers whose influence was undoubtedly profound on the monarchs of the period. That the policy of Vishṇuvardhana was radically affected by his conversion from Jainism to Vaishṇavism through the reformer Rāmānujāchārya speaks volumes. The *Vachanās* of S'rī Basavēs'wara and the devotional literature of the three gems of Kannada literature, Ponna, Janna and Ranna further corroborate the view that the moral force was vital during the period. In view of these facts the idea had firmly rooted that he alone was a real King who administered absolute justice, rooted out oppression from his dominions and himself set an example of justice and fair-play, honesty and truthfulness, virtue and uprightness, we venture to submit that the Kingship during the Hoysaḷa period was not " tyranny modified by experience ", as suggested by Dr. Derrett, but monarchy tempered with *Dharma*, which is the substance of this paper.

A NOTE ON FIVE INSCRIPTIONS OF HOYSAḶA DYNASTY

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AN INSCRIPTION FROM Aḷavaṇḍi in Koppal Taluk of Raichur District, Mysore State, belongs to the time of the Hoysaḷa king Vīra-Ballāḷa II and is dated Śaka 1125 or 1203 A.D. The inscription registers a grant made by a certain Suṅkaṇṇa who is stated to be the *mahā-pradhāna* of Billayya and this Billayya is described as the son *(kumāra)* of Kētaladēvī, the chief queen *(piriyarasi paṭṭamahādēvī)* of Vīra-Ballāḷadēva.[1] We know from other records that Kētaladēvī was one of the queens of Vīra-Ballāḷadēva and some scholars observe that she was different from queen Abhina-Kētaladēvī.[2]

But the mention of Billayya as the son of Vīra-Ballāḷa and queen Kētaladēvī is found for the first time in this Aḷavaṇḍi inscription which is thus important. Students of Hoysaḷa history know that Vīra-Bāllāḷa II was succeeded on the throne by his another son Narasiṁha II, born of queen Paḍmaladēvī. Therefore, the question arises why Billayya who was the son of the chief queen Kētaladēvī and a claimant to the throne did not succeed his father? Did he pre-decease his father or were his claims set aside by Narasiṁha II? The problem cannot be solved in the present state of our knowledge.

Two inscriptions belonging to the time of Hoysaḷa king Narasiṁha were found in the compound of the famous Vishṇupada temple at Gayā, the celebrated centre of pilgrimage in Bihar State in North India. One of them, written in Nāgarī script and

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1. Fleet has noticed this record on the basis of the information contained in Walter Elliot's Carnataka-Desa Inscriptions, Vol. II (*Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 502). But as he could not examine the impression, his account of the contents is not accurate. The inscription has been recently copied by the Office of the Chief Epigraphist, Mysore.

2. Coelho, *Hoysalā Vaṁśa*, p. 163.

Kannaḍa language states that Apaṇṇa (i.e., Appaṇṇa), the son of Padmanābhabhaṭṭōpādhyāya who was the priest of the temple of Hoysaḷa Vīra-Narasiṁha, caused to be constructed a *maṭha* at Gayā, viz., *Gayā-vrajana-maṭha*. Probably this *maṭha*, constructed by Appaṇṇa, was meant for pilgrims from Karnataka area who visited Gayā. The record is not dated and hence the identity of Narasiṁhadēva mentioned therein is not certain. There were three kings who had the name Narasiṁha in Hoysaḷa dynasty. But on the same stone, there is another inscription, in Kannaḍa script and language, of Vīra-Narasiṁha which gives the date *Khara, Bhādrapada, ba. 30, Monday*. The record speaks of a person called Chandiraṇa, son of Jakaṁṇa who was in the employment of Vīra-Narasiṁhadēva and of his visit to Gayā. It is apparent that both the Gayā inscriptions refer to the same Hoysaḷa king Narasiṁha or Vīra-Narasiṁha and the date mentioned above suits the reign-period of Narasiṁha III only, viz., 24th September, 1291 A.D. Therefore the two Gayā inscriptions should be ascribed to the reign of Hoysaḷa Narasiṁha III who ruled from 1254 to 1291 A.D.[1] The presence of the Hoysaḷa records at Gayā was due to the visit of the concerned persons to this centre of pilgrimage at the instance of the Hoysaḷa ruler.

An inscription from Hosur in Dharmapuri District of Tamiḻnādu which is written in Grantha script and Sanskrit language is interesting as it records the death of the Hoysaḷa king Vīra-Rāmanātha in Manmatha, Pausha, s'u. 10, Rōhiṇī, Monday. This date corresponds to 19th December, 1295 A.D.[2] Another record[2] from Kunnattūr, in Erode Taluk of Coimbatore District, written in Tamil script and language is dated in the cyclic year Subhānu, Vaikāsi and refers to the reign of Vīra-Ballāḷa III. This date corresponds to May 1343. This shows that the king was alive in May 1343. In view of this, the statement of Rice, based on the Bidare inscription[3] that

1. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 108 ff.
2. These two inscriptions are copied by the Office of the Chief Epigraphist, Mysore and are unpublished.
3. *Ep. Car.*, Vol. VI, Kadur, 75.

Vīra-Ballāḷa III died on 8th September 1342 A.D. is not correct. In fact the Bidare inscription is dated in 1368 A.D. and refers to the king's death which took place earlier in Chitrabhānu, Aśvija, śu. 8 i.e., 8th September 1342 A.D. But another record[1] at Paṭṭandūr in Bangalore Taluk and District which refers to the reign of this Vīra-Ballāḷa III is dated in Śaka 1265, Chitrabhānu, Pushya śu. 10, Monday. This date corresponds to 8th December 1342 A.D. which shows that the statement of the Bidare record is not correct. Anyway, from the discovery of the Kunnattūr record, we now know that Vīra-Ballāḷa was alive till May 1343 A.D.

1. *Ep. Car.*, Vol. IX. Bn. 41.

SOSEVŪR – AN INTERPRETATION OF THE NAME

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THERE IS SOME controversy among scholars regarding the birthplace of the Hoysaḷa dynasty. The contemporary inscriptions of the Hoysaḷa period themselves give different versions and names of the place. If some mention it as Sosevūr, others mention either as S'aś'apura or S'aś'akapura, while a few others mention it even S'āś'akapura or S'aś'akapuri and rarely as Sōsulya. However, most of the scholars agree that all these names refer to one and the same place though one or two scholars hold that S'aś'apura is quite different from Sosevūr.

Though numerous Hoysaḷa inscriptions mentioned S'aś'apura or Sosevūr linked with the story of Saḷa killing the tiger, the place could not be located in the map by Rice as there was no place of such name in the modern map. It was therefore a matter of gratification when he found several inscriptions at Angadi in Mudigere Taluk mentioning Sosevūr and thus identified Sosevūr with Angadi.

Rice and most of the scholars who followed him have taken for granted that S'aś'apura or S'aś'akapura is the Sanskrit version of Sosevūr. But it has not been discussed anywhere as to how Sosevūr could become S'aś'apura or S'aś'akapura or vice versa. An attempt has been made here to interpret the name Sosevūr with the help of the inscriptions.

Prof. Coelho while discussing about the capital of Saḷa states as follows : "The capital of Saḷa is pronounced in several ways. Most commonly it was known as S'aś'akapura or S'aś'akapuri. Sometimes it was known as Sōsalya. At the time of Vinayaditya it was generally called S'aś'apura. In later inscriptions even down to Vijayanagar emperors it was known as Sosevūr." According to him, therefore, S'aś'akapura seems to

be the original name of Sosevūr. But how far is this correct can be judged from looking into inscriptions.

About fifty inscriptions mention S'as'akapura and an equal number mention S'as'apura while about fifteen inscriptions refer to Sosevūr.

Inscription number Mudigere 22, dated 1129 A.D. is the earliest record in which we come across the name of S'as'akapura. Vishṇuvardhana is praised in it as " S'as'akapura Nivāsa Vāsantikādēvī labdha vara prasāda." Chikmagalur 139 of 1130 A.D. states that Vishṇuvardhana was a dweller in S'as'akapura. Another later inscription of 1160 A.D. (Bēlūr, 171) for the first time tries to explain the name of S'as'akapura. According to it Saḷa while hunting along the slopes of Sahya mountains was astonished to see a hare persuing a tiger and he thought that it was a heroic soil. Hence that place became S'as'akapura (The town of the hare).

The name S'as'apura appears in inscriptions a little earlier than S'as'akapura. The earliest inscriptions are Bēlūr 58 and 71 both dated in 1117 A.D. Both these records refer themselves to the construction of the Chennakēs'ava temple at Bēlūr. We should also note that these two are the earliest inscriptions tracing for the fist time the Puranic genealogy of the Hoysaḷas and also recording the Saḷa story. Bēlūr 16 and 147, both of 1121 A.D., also mention S'as'apura. No record earlier than 1117 A.D. ever mentions either S'as'apura or S'as'akapura.

On the other hand a few inscriptions earlier in date mention Sosevūr. Out of fifteen records mentioning Sosevūr as many as five are at Angadi and they are earlier than 1117 A.D. The earliest record, Mudigere 12, goes back to about 1040 A.D. Others are dated in 1053 A.D., 1063 A.D. etc. Among other inscriptions found elsewhere Blēūr 199 belongs to the reign of Ballaḷa I and is dated in 1101 A.D. when the king was on his way to visit Sosevūr. Bēlūr 160, though dated by Rice in 1103 A.D. actually belongs to the reign of Vishṇuvardhana and may be of about 1130 A.D. It mentions an earlier incidence which happened according to the record in 1047 A.D. when it is said, Vinayāditya and Keḷeyabbarasi were ruling from Sosevūr.

Vinayāditya's inscriptions are however, silent about this capital. By 1062 A.D. Vinayāditya was ruling from Dōrasamudra as can be deduced from an inscription at Haḷēbīd. It is therefore a matter of conjecture that Vinayāditya was ruling from Sosevūr somewhere between 1040 and 1062 A.D.

Thus it is clear that the statement made by Prof. Coelho cannot be accepted. On the other hand it is clear that the place was originally known as Sosevūr and during the time of Vishṇuvardhana it was Sanskritised into Śaśapura or Śaśaka-pura and the story of the hare pursuing the tiger originated. The statement that at the time of Vinayāditya the place was called Śaśapura also has no grounds unless what has been said in later inscriptions is accepted.

When did the place get its name of Sosevūr? As already stated the earliest record mentioning Sosevūr belongs to about 1040 A.D. and that record is at Angadi. There are earlier inscriptions at the place. But they do not mention the name of it at all. Mudigere 11 at the place is assigned to about 990 A.D. It mentions Iṛivabeḍañga, most probably Iṛivabeḍañga Satyāshraya. There is no mention of the Hoysaḷa ruler or any other local chief. It is an epitaph recording the death of Vimalachandrapaṇḍitadēva, Guru of Iṛivabeḍañga who must have come and settled at this place from the Chalukyan territory.

Angadi was so called during the late Vijayanagar period because it was a market place. It must have been a place of importance from a long time as several trade routes from various parts of the country passed through it. The merchants from various parts could assemble there and exchange their commodities and therefore it was a place of halt for them. As it was in the heart of Malenāḍ amidst forest and hilly region, the place also attracted the Jain monks to conduct their meditation peacefully. Hence in course of time it became a Jain centre and the travelling merchants who were mostly Jains provided necessary facilities for the monks. Vimalachandradēva as already noticed came from the Chalukyan territory. After the Chōḷa conquest of the Gaṅga territory several Jain monks

and others must have migrated to this part. Vajrapaṇi Paṇḍita was a muni of Gangavāḍi and S'āntidēvaru was from Muḷḷūr.

In the inscription No. Mudigere, 18, the name of the ruling king and the date are lost. However, from a stanza in it, it can be gathered that one Māra who had the title of Rājamalla and who was a Manu nītimārga was the king and he was the desciple of the Muni Vajrapāṇi Paṇḍitadēva whose epitaph this inscription is. Māra was no other than the Hoysaḷa king Kāma or Nṛipakāma who had the title Rāchamalla according to Uggihalli inscription (Mudigere, 19). Incidentally this is the first inscription at the place mentioning Sosevūr and also the ruling chief. We know from other records that Nṛipakāma was ruling during the years 1022 to 27 A.D. and Nṛipakāma is considered as the first historical figure in the Hoysaḷa dynasty with some royal status. We do come across with the name of Hoysaḷa in earlier records. There were a Poysaḷa Māruga, a Poysaḷa Setty and a valient Poysaḷa who fought in the Kaliyūr battle against the Chōḷa general Apramēya. Still there is no picture of their status in the political arena.

As the place rose to importance owing to the migration of several Jain monks and others from the old Gaṅga territory, it necessitated the services of an enthusiastic and valorous chief for its protection. Nṛipakāma Poysaḷa who must have been either from Gaṅga stalk or closely related to them appears to have accepted this position. He probably had under his sway a few villages and had become already a Malerāja. But howfar did he continue to rule is not clear. We do not find any reference to him or to any Hoysaḷa ruler between 1027 to 1047. What must have happened during these 20 years is a matter for conjecture. In 1047 A.D. we find Vinayāditya well established himself as a Mahāmaṇḍalēs'vara. He had become Dvārāvati Puravarādhīs'vara, Yādavakulāmbaradyumaṇi and Tribhuvanamalla Poysaḷa and the family's fortune had been much advanced. How could this happen ?

As Dr. Derrett observes the Chalukya emperor in about 1024 A.D. sent this Daṇḍanāyaka Mallidēva southwards who

took tributes from the Cheṅgāḷvas and Koṅgāḷvas and also "triumphed over the camp of the Hoysaḷa." From this it is clear that the Hoysaḷas came under the influence of the Chalukyas.

Chalukya Sōmēśvara I was a powerful ruler who extended his territories to a great extent and also established a new capital at Kalyāṇa. It was his desire to have friendly relations with the rulers of the Southern parts. We have seen that the Chalukya Daṇḍanāyaka had subjugated most of the territories in the South in about 1024 A.D. At the same time inscriptions tell us that he married a Gaṅga princess Bijjaḷadēvi who became the mother of Vikramāditya VI. From another inscription (Honnali one dated in 1054 A.D.) we also find that he had married a Hoysaḷa princess by name Poysaḷa Mahādēvi.

As for the Gaṅgas they were an ancient dynasty well established from a long time. They had family ties with various other dynasties. Though they had reverses at this time their past glory allowed them to claim relationship with great royal families and thus it was natural to expect the Chalukyan emperor accepting Bijjaladēvi in marriage. But the Hoysaḷa had no such claims. He was not even a chief of any status worth mentioning. Nowhere we find any mention of the territory of Nṛipakāma. He had not even any titles except that he was a Rāchamalla. Therefore it would have been too much for Nṛipakāma even to aspire for family relationship with the Chalukyan emperor.

At the same time we find that Hoysaḷa Mahādēvi was not an ordinary woman who might have been taken into the harem of the emperor. She had well established herself as Pyriyarasi and she was ruling from Kalyāṇa. From her long string of titles it is clear that she commanded great veneration and respect in the Chalukyan empire. She had the titles: "Anavaratha Parama Kalyāṇābhyudaya Sahasraphala Bhōgabhāginī Dvithīya Lakshmī Samāne, Samastha Anthahpura Mukha Maṇḍani, Savatimada-Bhanjane, Āśritajana Kāmadhēnu, Śrīmat-Trilōkyamalladēva Vishāla Vakshasthala Nivāsini, and

S'rīmat Piriyarasi." Thus it is clear that the emperor liked her much and married her on his own accord and after this marriage her birth-place gained more importance. At the same time Vinayāditya who must have been her brother and who was a warrior of great capacities appears to have entered into the services of the emperor. One of the inscriptions in Sorab Taluk mentions a Poysaḷa as the Pradhāni under the Chalukyan emperor. From its date it is clear that he was Vinayāditya himself. Since by 1055 A.D. Hoysaḷa Mahādēvi had well established herself in the Chalukya family her marriage must have occurred by about 1040 A.D. Vinayāditya who joined the services of the emperor at this time was also conferred certain titles, was made a mahāmaṇḍales'vara and was entrusted the charge of a portion of the Gaṅgavāḍi province which had come under the sway of the Chalukyas. All this was possible mainly due to the matrimonial connections with the emperor and the little town whence the daughter-in-law (Sose) of the Chalukyan empire came was called after that name by the travelling merchants from the Chalukyan territories whose numbers must have increased to a great extent after the Chōḷas occupied the eastern portion of the Gaṅgavāḍi.

It is only from this time onwards that the real Hoysaḷa dynasty may be said to have begun. This will also explain as to why the later inscriptions generally start the genealogy from Vinayāditya though Nṛipakāma was already there as a historical personage. It is only from this time onwards great building activities began in Sosevūr. Jākiyabbe, a disciple of Vajrapāṇi Paṇḍitadēva made grants to a basadi in 1054 A.D. There was also another Makara Jinālaya probably built by the Nakaras or merchant class. Mānika Poysaḷāchāri, son of Poysaḷāchāri, constructed another basadi in 1062 A.D. at the place.

Vinayāditya appears to have ruled from this place till about the middle of the 11th century A.D. As he extended his kingdom and as his status rose he changed his capital to Dōrasamudra. In 1062 A.D. he got a sluice constructed to the tank at Haḷēbid and it is only after this date he had the title of Dvārāvathi Puravarādhīs'vara.

Vinayāditya laid the foundation of his dynasty and Vishṇuvardhana established it on a firm footing by regaining the lost territories of the Gaṅgavādi from the Chōḷas and extending his domain on all sides. He was considered as the most powerful among the subordinates of the Chalukyas.

In order to maintain an equal status among other dynasties of high rank, it was probably found necessary to have a proper genealogy prepared. The court poets readily did this connecting the dynasty with the Chandravaṁśa like the Chalukyas and interpreted the dynastic name "Hoysaḷa." Similarly Sosevūr, the birth-place of the Hoysaḷas which had lost its original meaning and was being variously pronounced as Sosavūr or Sasavūr was conveniently Sanskritised into Śaśapura, which gave birth to the story of the hare pursuing a tiger.

ORIGIN OF THE HOYSAḶAS

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THE HOYSAḶAS CLAIMED Purāṇic genealogy like all royal families of South India in the 10th and 11th centuries A.D. They traced descent to the moon as belonging to the Yaduvaṁsha. They rose to power gradually and took advantage of the political confusion in the 11th century to found their political power. They had settled in the Western Ghats and by subduing the hill tribes known as Malepas, assumed the title of *Maleparoleganda* (Lord among the Malepas). Advancing from the Ghats, they slowly extended their territory in the east and about the beginning of the 11th century, acquired some territory. The title 'Maleparoleganda' is commonly found in all the inscriptions which describe the achievements of Vishṇuvardhana. Early in the 11th century, the Cōḷas under Rājendra Cōḷa advanced upon the Gaṅgas who were ruling in Mysore and subdued them. The Gaṅgas were compelled to seek protection of the Hoysaḷas. The Cōḷas and the Hoysaḷas had to contend for supremacy and ultimately the Hoysaḷas expelled the Cōḷas from Mysore in the beginning of the 12th century. But for more than a hundred years after their rise to power, they preferred to be feudatories of the Western Chālukyas. The Hoysaḷa inscriptions from Vinayāditya to Vīra Ballāḷa II acknowledge their allegiance to the Chālukyas. Vinayāditya, Vishṇuvardhana and Narasiṁha I were rulers of 'Gangavādi Ninety-six-thousand' under them and Ereyanga was also a general in the Western Chālukya army. They rendered yeoman service to the Western Chālukyas in their wars against the Cōḷas early in the 11th century. It was only under Vīra Ballāḷa that the Hoysaḷas threw off the shadowy allegiance which they owed to the Chālukyas. Vīra Ballāḷa was the first king to be styled 'Emperor of the South'. They exhibited their political insight by gradually extending their power

and by remaining in the background until they were able to set up their independence.

The traditional account of their origin is very familiar from the inscriptions. They claimed Sosevūr or Sosavūr – Sasakapura of Sanskrit writers as their birth-place. This place has been identified with Angadi in the South of Mudigere taluk of the Kadur (now Chickmagalur) district, formerly included in the Manjarabad country (Ep. C. VI, Mg. 9, 15, 16 and 18), *Mg. 15* of C. 1164 A.D. refers to *Sosevūrupaṭṭaṇasvāmi*. *Mg. 16* of C. 1060 A.D. refers to a monument of Lokajita, (one) of the merchants of Sosevūr, erected by the company of townsmen. Lines 15–16 of *Mg. 18* of C. 1040 A.D. mention Sosavūr where Vajrapānibratīs'vara ended his life. *Bl. 112* of C. 1220 A.D. mentions that Sasakapura was founded by Saḷa of the Yadukula and the Chief deity was the Goddess beloved of Vasantha.

The identification of Sosavūr with Angadi in the Mudigere taluk is made clear by an inscription of Achuta Rāya (of Vijayanagar) (Bl. 197). Dr. S. K. Aiyangar observes, "In the far off recesses of the Western Ghats, there is a place called Angadi (mart) in the Mudigere taluk of the Kadur district. Its situation, where the road over the ghats from Mangalore meets two others leading to Saklespur in the south-west and Bēlūr in the south-east, must have been the cause of the name. This place has the honour of having been the cradle of this dynasty of rulers of Mysore" (Ancient India, 1911, p. 228).

Sosavūr became the scene of the incident between Saḷa and tiger, which led to his becoming the founder of the Poysaḷa or Hoysaḷa line of kings (Ep. C. VI, Ck. 20 and 137). *Cm. 20* states that when Saḷa, an ornament of the Yaduvaṁsha, was worshipping (the Goddess) Vāsantika of Sasankapura with sandal, flowers and incense, a tiger sprang out of the forest; on which the holy Jinamuni gave him his Fan (kuncha) saying *Poysaḷa* (strike, Sala!) from which time forth the name of Poysaḷa was the designation of the Yadu kings. We learn from *Cm. 137* of 1130 A.D. that when Saḷa was passing through the forest, an ascetic, terrified at the appearance of a tiger called out *hoysaḷa* (strike, Saḷa) on which he at once at the Muni's

explanation slew the tiger, and it become his crest, and Hoysaḷa his name. "Verily thou shalt become a celebrated man, shalt be the founder of a family and be as renowned as the enemy of Mura (Krishna) – thus by the power of his penance did he (the muni), proficient in the Āgama predict; from which he (Saḷa) gained double glory."

The temple of Vāsantikādēvi at which it occured is still represented by the present Vasantamma temple, which enjoys a great local reputation. There are other temples there in ruins, containing some fine carving, which attest the former importance of the place. We learn from *Sb. 28* that the name of the *muni* who, on the appearance of the tiger called out *Poysaḷa* (the earlier form of *Hoysaḷa*) was *Sudatta*. It was he who brought the Goddess Padmāvati into his power, and obtained from her a kingdom for his rescuer Saḷa. *Ng. 39* and *38* say of Saḷa, the founder of the line that the *muni* at whose bidding he slew the tiger which had pushed upon them, was one whom he had sent for from some other part *(Orva siddha munipane tare bandan)*, and on his arrival had established in the abode, i.e., the temple of Vāsanti in the prosperous Sasapura. It was while he was giving valuable instructions to Saḷa that the tiger sprang out of the forest. There are other versions of this story. *Bl. 171* says that when Saḷa was hunting along the slopes of the Sahya mountains (or Western Ghats), he was astonished to see a hare pursuing a tiger. Coming alone, saying to himself, this is heroic soil, a holy *rishi* in his fear of the tiger called out as above, and before it could step a span (gen), Saḷa slew it with his dagger (gen). This is in accordance with the Hoysaḷa crest. It is after this incident that the Yaduvaṁsha came to be known as Poysaḷa-Vaṁsha, and that place became Sasakapura. *Hn. 65* (E.C. V, Part II) gives substantially the same account, and says that the *muni* wanted to test Saḷa's bravery. *Ak. 71* says that Saḷa was prostrating himself to the holy *Yogindra*, who was an adept at incantations, and pleased with Saḷa he resolved to give him an empire. For this purpose he was performing the necessary rites to bring the goddess Vāsantika of Sasakapura into his power, when, in order by any means to break the

spell, she sprang forth in the form of a tiger; on which the *Yogi* uttered the explanation and Saḷa killed it with his cane *(betta)*. *Bl. 112* is to the same effect, but calls it a cane-rod *(bettada sale)*. *Ak. 108* calls it *Kunchadasele,* the rod of the *Yogin's* fan or whisk, which is properly a bunch of peacock's feathers. It also adds that he had uttered a spell into it—solid bamboo-rod of an ascetic, at the top of which in the case of a Jain the *Kuncha* or bunch of peacock's feathers might be tied. The only other variation is *Bl. 74* which calls it a *salaki,* properly an iron-rod, which is not admissible for a Jain; but it may also mean a pointed-stick. The seals of some of the copper plates give the crest as the tiger and the rod, and this also appears on the coins. According to *Bl. 112* of C. 1220 A.D. Saḷa of the Yadukula founded Sasakapura and the Chief deity was the Goddess beloved of Vasantha.

5. Sri dayitam yadukuladala
6. gadam Salanemba norva nrpananrpa
   nindadudu Sasakapura madarkkadadhi
7. daivam Vasantavallabheyambol

from *Bl. 199* of 1101 A.D. we learn that Ballāḷa, eldest son of Ereyanga visited Sosavūr, the brith-place of the Hoysaḷas. *Tn. 191* of C. 1173 A.D. sketches the genealogy of the Hoysaḷas upto Ballāḷa II. The reference to Saḷa killing the tiger is made in that inscription.

8. Khyateshu teshu nripatih katitah kadachit
9. Kaschid vane munivarena salah karalam
10. Sardulakam prati hi possala ityatobhut
11. Tasyapidha munivacho va chamuralakshmah

Though the traditional account of the origin of the Hoysaḷas reads like a story, Saḷa killing a tiger by the favour of a *muni* – we cannot, in any way, dismiss it as cock-and-bull story. The fact that almost all the inscriptions refer to this incident indicates that it must have been a historic event in their dynasty. Though direct epigraphical evidence of Saḷa and his rule is not found, the later kings of this dynasty took pride in praising Saḷa and his brilliant deed. It is evident that the Hoysaḷas were a family of hill chiefs residing in the extreme

west of Mysore near the Ghats, at Angadi in the Mudigere taluk. Their Purāṇic genealogy, as Prof. William Coelho observes, meant nothing more than a proof of royalty. "If the Hoysaḷas had come from the north, as the *Haḷebīḍ kaiffiyat* says, their language could not have been pure Hale-kannada which is a Dravidian language. The fact that there is no trace of northern influence in the very early Hale-kannada of the Hoysaḷas is clearly proved by the 11th century inscriptions of Angadi" (p. 10 - 11, The Hoysaḷa - Vaṁsha — William Coelho).

There is nothing strange in the story of Saḷa slaying a tiger by the blessing of a saint. Just as Rome was founded by Romulus, Vijayanagar by Harihara and Bukka with the help of S'ringēri gurus, Saḷa founded his dynasty by a heroic deed. Almost all great dynasties trace their origin to some remarkable event.

The story, as such cannot be lightly treated. It is repeated in all the accounts of the origin of the dynasty and their crest on temples exhibits a free standing group of Saḷa stabbing the tiger, while the seal of copper plate grants shows a dead tiger and the rod. Dr. Derrett and Prof. Coelho do not attach much importance to this story. Dr. Derrett observes, "We should regretfully pass with a smile over the charming myth which was invented in Vishṇuvardhana's day to account for the odd name; nevertheless the Hoysaḷa badge, namely the representation of Saḷa absent-mindedly killing a wide-eyed tiger, which appears to-day high up on the roof or architrave of many of the temples constructed by the Hoysaḷa kings or their ministers in many quarters of the plateau, requires a brief mention. The tale ran how a Jaina teacher bade his princely pupil slay the tiger with his wand (or a steel-rod versions vary) saying "Hoy Saḷa", "Hit it, Saḷa". In fact, *Hoysaḷa* from the old Kannada root *hoy* (originally *poy*) signifies 'the Smiter', and the terse cognomen indicates without ambiguity the type of role which the family first played in Karnāṭaka history. They started their career as successful brigand-chiefs" (p. 15, The Hoysaḷas, O.U.P.).

What is of importance is the location of their original habitat somewhere in the neighbourhood of Haḷebīḍ or Dōrasamudra. At Hullekere, a village near Haḷebiḍ, a shrine dedicated to Vāsantikādēvi is found. This Goddess is popularly known as Chaudēs'vari. She has four hands, holding a cup, sword, trident and drum. Thus, the Goddess is Saiva, though she is called Vāsantikādēvi, a Jaina Goddess. The Pushpagiri Hill nearby, is known for tigers and the Mallikārjunaswamy Temple was originally a Jaina *basti* converted into a Saiva shrine. It is possible that Saḷa was a native of Hullekere or Hulikere; he was in the service of the local Rāshtrakūtā chief Dōra, after whom the tank derived its name. The traditional account of Saḷa slaying a tiger very well fits into this tiger-infested region. Minor Rāshtrakūtā chieftains seem to have spread in various parts of the country as evidenced by some temples found in Varuna near Mysore, Haḷebiḍ and Mudigere. From the architectural point of view, Hoysaḷa friezes may be derived from Rāshtrakūtā friezes. If Angadi in Mudigere taluk was the birth-place of the Hoysaḷas, it must have been the capital of the kingdom at least in the beginning. But the earliest inscriptions of the Hoysaḷas are found in Haḷebiḍ and other parts of Hassan district. Sasakapara need not be identified with Sosavūr, the so-called birth-place of the Hoysaḷas.

THE ORIGIN OF THE HOYSAḶAS

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IN THE SANGAM age the northern frontier of the Tamil country was indicated by a single place name Venkaṭam, i.e., Tirupati in the north-east of the Tamil-speaking region. This frontier itself was but linguistic and not strictly political and so was deep and irregular but constant over long periods of time. It was perhaps this very vagueness of the frontier which persuaded the ancient Tamils to refrain from defining the northern limit at any point other than Venkaṭam. In the central sector of the northern boundary the persistence of Tamil names for localities[1] shows that the present Mysore State was well within the linguistic borderland between Tamil and Kannada-speaking areas.

One such place name was Tuvarai (or Torai), meaning pulses. Tuvaraiyur became Tuvarapati and later was confused with Dvāraka[2] and associated with Kṛishṇa; finally it became Dvārasamudram[3] (Dōrasamudram). But still the mediaeval Hindu dynasty of the Hoysaḷas could not dissociate themselves from Dvāraka or the Purāṇic Yādavas of that place and so ascribed to themselves a Yādava ancestry.[4] But the origin of the word Dvārasamudram as we have traced it, will leave us in no doubt as to the spuriousness of this ascription.

Usually Haḷebiḍ is assumed to be a later designation for Dōrasamudram, which is regarded as the creation of the Rāshtrakūtās in the 9th century A.D. These assumptions are not absolutely substantiated but compelled by the need to somehow explain their origin. There can be little doubt that if a Dvārasamudram was built at all in the 9th century, it was but a case of rebuilding, retaining the old name but just adding a 'Samudram' to it.

Tuvarai was associated with the 'ancient Velir',[5] an order of Tamil feudatory chieftains whose Valour and generosity

was, if anything, superior to those of the three crowned monarchs of Tamilaham. The Velir were an ancient tribe[6] and their name meant 'the beloved ones' and is a fair Tamil equivalent of Priyadarsin.[7] Pari of Paramby, Adihaiman of Tagadur, and Pehan of Ay and Nannan Venman belonged to that stock; and Velavikkoman Paduman mentioned in Padirrupattu was deemed important enough to give his daughter in marriage to a Chēra ruler.[8] These Velir were often spoken of in conjuction with the crowned monarchs[9] and place names associated with them are practically legion in the lower Deccan and the Tamil country.[10]

Nachchinarkkiniyar, the noted mediaeval commentator on the Tolkappiyam[11] repeats the legend which had reached him about Agastiyar importing into the Tamil country eighteen varieties (families) of the Velir[12]; having obtained them from the Nedumudi Annal (Śrī Kṛīshṇa) of Tuvarapati (i.e., Tuvarai, the modern Dvārasamudram). Very clearly this legend relates to the advent of Agastiyar (whoever he was) into the Tamil country and the fashionable and persistent belief that he introduced many fresh elements into Tamil polity, society, literature and fine arts. Of these, according to the belief, the introduction of the Velir group was one. But the single historical element in this legend seems to be that the Velir who belonged to the region of Tuvarai (which even Nachchinarkkiniyar could not help confusing with Dvāraka or the Yādava Capital of Śrī Kṛishṇa) fanned out and spread southwards into Tamilaham proper at some remote point in the history of the Tamils. But as according to common superstition every line in Tamil antiquity conveniently converged on Agastiyar, this event was also ascribed to him. The Velir were associated with Dvāraka of Śrī Kṛishṇa on account of the anxiety to trace Velir ancestry to a 'respectable origin'; and once a migration from the distant Dvāraka was imagined, it was perfectly natural that Agastiyar the patron Saint of treks and migrations should be connected with the movement too. Fleet who probably considered the Dvāraka association credible, said that the Hoysaḷas belonged to the lineage of Yadu.[13] The

association of Velir with Dvārasamudram is attested by the mention in Puranānūru of Irunko Vel as a chieftain of that region.

If this background of ancient Tamilian association with Tuvarapati is borne in mind, it would be repaying to enquire into the origin of the Hoysaḷas who in mediaeval times were connected with Dvārasamudram.

The origin of the Hoysaḷa dynasty is considered by many scholars who are all univocal on its absolute obscurity ; but all of them dutifully repeat, as I am going to do soon, an absurd story which is supposed to enlighten this problem. This story has many versions but basically there is a standard version which will do for our purpose here ; the story is : " There was once in the South Mysore forests an ascetic engaged in his penance ; a tiger which came that way prepared to pounce on the ascetic ; but then a king called Saḷa who also happened to come that way was directed by the *Rishi* to smite the tiger dead ; and in so directing he exclaimed, " Hoy ! Saḷa ! " that is, " Smite ! Oh Saḷa ! " The king did so and became the founder of the Hoysaḷa line of rulers." ' Saḷa ' is an unusual and meaningless designation ; and the story itself is on the face of it incredible. But it is said that mediaeval epigraphy and literature stand solidy by this fiction ; and some scholars whose faith in epigraphic *prasasti* taḷes about origins of dynasties borders on the religious somehow bring themselves to believe this ; and when an alternative and saner theory of Hoysaḷa origin is not put forth, this fable is just mentioned and slurred over.

Dr. Derrett who has made a fine study of the Hoysaḷa dynasty reluctantly repeats this fantastic and clumsy story but politely calls it ' charming ' while dismissing it as useless for he is of opinion that the ' myth ' was invented in Vishṇu-vardhana's days to account for the odd name. He says. " The tale ran how a Jaina teacher bade his princely pupil slay the tiger with his wand, or a steel-rod – (versions vary) saying ' Hoy, Saḷa ' ! In fact Hoysaḷa, from the old Kannada root ' Hoys ' (originally Poys), signifies ' the smiter ".[14]

It is, however, noticeable that all the concerned inscriptions agree on the point that one Saḷa was the progenitor of the dynasty; but they differ in details in regard to the myth surrounding the origin. In Kadur No. 318 of 1174 A.D. it was "Sakala" and not "Saḷa" who killed the tiger and he was a Yādava King. Another inscription Sorale No. 28 of 1208 A.D. : "A Jain monk Sudattachāriyar (some call him Vardhamāna) called upon the Goddess Padmāvati with a view to joining a village to the kingdom of Saḷa of the Yādava race. But the Goddess appeared as a tiger and the monk called upon the king to smite it. Padmāvati granted the boon and disappeared." Mr. B. R. Joshi draws our attention to "Hoysaḷa Sculptures, besides a seal of the Hoysaḷa kings, which wear the figures of a man and a tiger representing Saḷa and his victim in an encounter as narrated in the legend"[15]; still like Dr. Derrett, Mr. Joshi dismisses the tiger slayer myth as later mediaeval; but thinks that the legend was concoted so that the dynasty would go up in the esteem of the people. There are other but equally unedifying variations of this tale.

The term 'Hoysaḷa' is not uniformly used in all the Hoysaḷa inscriptions; variants such as Hosana, Hoysana, Poysaḷa, Poyisaḷa and Hosaḷa are in a confused way used to denote the same word.

Now, some scholars have suggested origin to the Hoysaḷa dynasty, which is a worthy endeavour in so far as the legend is rejected and something more historically credible is attempted. Rice is unobjectionable when he says that "they were a family of hill chiefs to start with on the western ghats". Mr. Joshi equates them with a community of people in North Kanara district: Hosaleru, pronounced as Hoisaleru. Dr. Derrett says, "It is not impossible that their original stock was racially distinct from that of the majority of their followers. They may have descended from the founders of the megalithic civilization which is believed to have come into being in northern Mysore in the 3rd century B.C.; they may have been of the stock of Aryan conquerors of the south-west Deccan long since overwhelmed by stronger successors from amongst

their own kin ; it is however useless to speculate on their racial origin".[16] Sewell says, "Originally the Hoysaḷas were a family of Hills chiefs residing in the extreme west Mysore near the ghats, at Angadi in the Mudigere taluk".[17] This again is a speculation based on certain references in mediaeval inscriptions. But considering all the facts so far mentioned and those to be detailed hereafter in this paper, it would appear that it is more appropriate to assign a non-Aryan and native origin to the Hoysaḷas.

Faced as we are with this amazing maze of reports, it is gratifying to note that ancient Tamil literature provides certain peep-holes which reveal the origin of the Hoysaḷas. The assumption of the title Bellāḷa (Vellala = Vel Alar – corrupted into Vallala–Val Alar) by the later Hoysaḷa rulers is the first indication that this mediaeval dynasty was derived from the ancient Vels of Tuvarapati. This is confirmed by other information that we get in the Śangam literature wherein the theory of Hoysaḷa descent from an ancient Tamil tribe (the Velir community) in South Mysore areas gets confirmed.

Kapilar, the author of 201 and 202 of Puranānuru, the Śangam anthology, addresses therein the chieftain Irumkovel and those poems provide the earliest glimpses of early Velir history. Kapilar, Brahmin poet and the bosom friend of Pari the famous Velir chieftain of Parambu hill in Madurai District, left the Parambu hill after Pari's death and taking his chief's two accomplished daughters with him went in search of suitable and willing bride-grooms among the Velir chiefs. This sojourn brought him to Irumkovel whom the poet addresses as 'the descendant of 49 generations of Velir who had ruled over Tuvarai and had been begotten in the sacrificial fire of the northern sage'[18]; in the next poem, the poet curses that Irumkovel for declining to marry his wards (Pari's daughters)[19] and says he would settle them in Evvi's ancient family of Velir. This poem also mentions that one of Irumkovel's ancestors had offended a poet called Kalattalaiyar who therefore had decreed the destruction of the city of Araiyam,[20] incidentally reminding that Irumkovel's insult of Kapilar would lead to similar dire

consequences to that chief's capital etc. Irumkovel is called 'Pulikadimal' (the hero who destroyed the tiger) in his poem. The association of Tuvarai with Irumkovel the mention of the myth of an ascetic having something to do with the origin of the Velir dynasty and the title of Pulikadimal for Irumkovel must be compared with the Hoysaḷa capital of Dvārasamudram, the persistent story of an ascetic earning the title 'Hoysaḷa' for the dynasty, and the story of a tiger being smitten by the founder of that dynasty. There will be little difficulty now in realizing that the roots of the Hoysaḷa dynasty are to be traced to the Velir of Tuvarai, one of whom was a 'Pulikadimal' (tiger-smiter), mentioned by Kapilar of the 2nd century A.D. and that a thousand years later 'epigraphic mythology' had slightly touched up the details of the account here and there and invented a new myth to explain the term 'Hoysaḷa'. But the entire legend has to be re-interpreted.

The story of the birth of the dynasty in an ascetic's sacrificial fire was born of epic imagination similar to the story of the river Kāvērī flowing from Agastiyar's sacred water flask; it shows that even in Kapilar's days the truth about Velir origin had become too dim and ancient; but Nachchinarkkiniyar's statement that Agastiyar settled the Velir in the Tamil country, it can be seen, was only another and a prosaic way of stating that the Velir appeared out of a northern *Rishi's* (Agastiyar's) sacrificial fire. Puram 201 seems to mean that Irumkovel was the descendant of the 49th generation (presumably after the founding of the line) of Velir. If that is the correct meaning of the passage, it would mean that the Velir started as a ruling race sometime in the 8th century B.C.[21]

If that is considered to be a rather improbable date, it would be proper to read the meaning 'branch', or 'division' (of the tribe of Velir) instead of 'generation' into the expression 'Valimurai' used by Kapilar in Puram 201. That would mean that there were 49 families or divisions among the Velir tribe and that they coexisted and simultaneously functioned at the beginning; Nachchinarkkiniyar's statement about Agastiyar peopling the Tamil country with 18 families of Velir would only

mean that he selected 18 out of the 49 and settled them in different parts of southern Tamilaham.

The expression 'Pulikadimal' really has nothing to do with smiting the tiger to save an ascetic but braving the ruler whose emblem was the tiger (the Chōḷa) that they could save themselves and their principality; and the hostility between the Hoysaḷas and the Chōḷas one witnesses in the 13th century seems to have been as old as the origin of the Hoysaḷa dynasty in early Śangam days.[22] The persistent use of the expression 'Tolkudi' (the ancient family or tribe) in Tamil literature to indicate the Velir deserves notice.[23] For it is that expression which can also be rendered as 'Palaiya Vidu' (the ancient family) which is the same as 'Pale Vidu' or in Kannada 'Haḷe Bīdu' or 'Haḷebiḍ' associated with the Hoysaḷas. Other suggestions for the meaning of the word Haḷebiḍ are unreliable and have to be dismissed as later day inventions.

Now we shall enquire into the meaning of the term 'Hoysaḷa' itself. The older form of the word is 'Poysaḷa' which is Hale-kannada and therefore likely to be similar to the Tamil form of the word. The word 'Poy' in Kannada is said to mean 'smite' or 'kill'; no lexicon goes into the etymology of the word deeper than that; evidently the Poy in the sense of falsehood[24] also means 'corruption-deviation from or destruction of the right'. If the word is rendered as 'Poysolar' (those that will shun falsehood)—the truth speakers—it easily becomes 'Hoysaḷa'; the form 'Hoysaḷeru' in some inscriptions suggests the other form 'Poysoleru' or 'Poysolaru' or 'Poysolar' in Tamil. The temple built by Hoysaḷa Somēśvara (1235–1254) at Kannanur (now called Samayapuram)[25] is dedicated to Poysoḷēśvarar. In the Tiruvanaikka temple built by Somēśvara there are epigraphic references to 'Poysoḷēśvara'; and by a strange coincidence, Lord Siva in Tiruvanaikka temple has been praised by Tirunavukkarasar as 'The Truthful One Devoid of All Falsity'—'Poyyedumillada Meyyan'. This point could be further extended and it will not be wrong to say that in the earlier stages of their dynastic history the Poysolar were identical with the 'Meymmali Kosar' or the

'Satyaputras' who were ubiquitous in the region from Tuḷunāḍu to Kongunāḍu and included the Adihaimans and the Kongilamkosar.[27] So the Hoysaḷas, by another name but in the same locality, existed and flourished as early as the days of Asoka.

When the Vijayanagar Kingdom tottered and fell, different regions of that vast territory came under different rulers and the Mysore area came into its own when Rāja Wodeyar (re-) established a Hindu ruling power there. Really he belonged to the Hoysaḷa stock and the Hoysaḷar could be traced back to Irumkovel. Now the Kovel's (or the Vetkos) belonged to the tribe of ceramists and it is well-known that Udaiyars belong to the same professional group. It is amazing how tenacious Hindu ruling dynasties in South India have been and how carefully they cherish their ancient professional affiliations!

REFERENCES

1. Like Nellore, Chittoor, Gudur, Belgaum (Vel Gram); the Ahiri a tributary of the Tungabhadra which was only perhaps Ayiri Aru; Mysore, a corruption of Mahishasur, mythologically explained with reference to Mahishasura Mardani was after all a partial Sanskritization of Erumaiyur (Erumai : buffalo)—'Erumai' was the name of the place as well as of the chieftain thereof (Aham : 36 : 17). For the Tamil habit of naming places after the dominant botanical or zoological species prevalent there, *vide* my paper 'Nomenclature among the Ancient Tamils'. *R. P. Sethu Pillai Commemoration Volume*, p. 307.

2. Which was also rendered into Tamil as 'Tuvarai'; hence the confusion. But in the Tamil Sangam references to Tuvarai, Sri Krishna is nowhere mentioned as being associated with it.

3. Place names with the suffix 'samudram' are many in the Tamil country, *e.g.*, Ambasamudram, Chinnababu Samudram, Namana Samudram, Malla Samudram etc., *vide* also Sivasamudram in Mysore.

4. In fact in mediaeval South India, it was almost a fashion for many dynasties to trace their ancestry to the Yādavas thereby hoping to trace their origin to Śrī Kṛishṇa. The Rāshtrakūtas for instance did so. This may be compared to the earlier practice of South Indian dynasties like the Pallavas and the Kadambas claiming a Brahminical origin by assuming Gōtras. That such assumptions are found in lithic inscriptions or copper plates makes them no more credible.

5. "Ton Mudir Velir: *Aham*: 258; *Puram*: 24; 'Evvi Tol Kudi: *Puram*: 202.

6. *Aham:* 258; *Puram*: 24, 201, 102; *Tol. Pura*: 24; they were tribal chieftains of the Dravidian speaking stock and as old as the indigenous Tamil yeomanry.

7. Vel: the loveable one; Vel-Velir, like Kel-Kelir.

8. The Chola Ilam Chet Senni married the daughter of the Alundur Vel; and Karikalan married the daughter of the Nangur Vel; So the Velir enjoyed *jus connubium* with the royal families; they wore short crowns called 'Kuṛumudi'.

9. *Maduraikkanchi* : 55; *Padirruppattu*: 30 : 30; 88 : 13.

10. *E.g.*, Belgaum : Vel Gramam; Kivalur : Kil Velur; Perambalur : Perum Velur, etc.

11. *Tol. Eluttu*; *Payiram.*

12. *Tol. Ahattinai Iyal*, 32, Nach. Comm.

13. J. F. Fleet : The Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts of the Bombay Presidency—*Bombay Gazetteer*, I, II, 1896.

14. J. D. M. Derrett : *The Hoysaḷas*, Oxf. 1956, p. 15.

15. A Study of the Dynastic Name, Hoysaḷa : *I. H. Q.* XXII, pp. 172–9.

16. J. D. M. Derrett : *The Hoysaḷas,* p. 15.

17. *Historical Inscriptions of South India :* p. 57.

18. *Puram* : 201.

19. R. Raghava Iyengar suggests that Kapilar's request was that Irumkovel's sons should marry Pari's daughters : *Pari Kathai,* p. 311, note under st. 559.

20. Which consisted of two parts Per-ariyam (greater Araiyam) and Sirraraiyam (lesser Araiyam).

21. Allowing 20 years (roughly) for each generation we get 49×20 equal to 980 years which takes us to 980–180 equal to 800 B.C. as Kapilar lived in the later half of the second century A.D.

22. The tradition of praising certain heroes as 'Tiger Slayers' is seen in the names 'Sher Khan' (Sher Shah), 'Sher Afghan' etc., and surely the Mysore forests abounded in tigers in those days as now.

23. Evvi Tolkudi : *Puram* : 202 ; 'Tolkudi Tangiya Mudilalar' *Puram* : 289 etc.

24. In Kannada and Tamil, 'Pisi' can easily become 'Poy', because 'ya' and 'sa' are interchangeable ; e.g., Payam equal to Pasam in *Perumbanurrupadai,* line : 342.

25. The town was renamed Somesvaram and that has been corrupted into Samayapuram (Somesapuram, Someyapuram, Samayapuram).

26. Wrongly written Tiruvanaikkaval and worse Tiruvanaikkovil.

27. 'The Kongu Desa Rajakkl Charittiram' deals with the lives of the Gaṅga kings and Hoysaḷa kings and so it would appear that the land of the Gaṅgas and the Hoysaḷas was treated as Kongunāḍu ; so the Hoysaḷas in the earlier days were a variety of Kongukkosar.

HOYSAḶA—CHALUKYA RELATIONS

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THE PURPOSE OF this paper is to present a bird's-eye view of the relations that existed between the Hoysaḷas and the Chālukyas of the medieval Karnāṭaka. This is largely based on the contemporary historical material revealed in the inscriptions. The Hoysaḷa inscriptions are scattered over a large area of the Mysore state and over some parts of Madras, Bombay and Andhra states.

Without getting into chronological controversy regarding the reign of Saḷa which is supposed to be, according to Lewis Rice, 984 and 1043 A.D.[1] let me proceed with the generally accepted date of 950 A.D., when Saḷa assumed the power of ruling over a petty principality. References in later inscriptions—of the time of Vinayāditya I (1006–1022), his son Nripa-Kāma or Kāma-Poysaḷa (1022–1047) and his son Vinayāditya II (1047–1100)—bring to light that the Hoysaḷas were either connected with the Gangas or with the Westren Chālukyas. They had risen to power slowly and steadily from the position of petty hill chiefs to that of a ruling dynasty. Two factors helped them. One was their application of mind to become great and the other was their matrimonial alliances with those ruling royal houses. Further the political situation in Gangavāḍi had undergone a profound change. The mighty rivals for the hegemony of the Deccan were not interested in this geographically isolated and economically undeveloped tract and both Chālukya and Chōḷa had their attention fixed upon the rich black soil of the upper Tungabhadrā Valley. These factors helped the Hoysaḷas to enter the stage of history.

The Chikkamagalur inscription mentions that Vinayāditya I was a subordinate of the Chālukya king Vikramāditya V

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1. Rice : Mysore Inscriptions, p. LXXV.

(1009–1018), after whom he took the additional title of Tribhuvanamalla.[1] The Chōḷas had at this time risen to power. They carried their arms over larger parts of the Deccan. About this time the Hoysaḷas were gradually growing powerful among the potentates ruling the mountainous districts (Malnad) and they were a source of trouble to the feudatories of the Chōḷas. Tamil inscriptions of Rājēndra Chōḷa I and other Chōḷa kings down to Kulottunga-Chōḷa refer frequently to battles fought at Kampili, Kollapuram, Koppam, Kudala-Sangama and Nagali against the Western Chālukya foes. It is quite likely that in some of the battles the Hoysaḷas took an active part on behalf of their overlords, the Western Chālukya kings.[2]

Nripa-Kāma son of Vinayāditya calls himself a *Mahā-maṇḍalēśvarā*.[3]

Vinayāditya II son of Nripa-Kāma ascended the throne in 1047 and worked hard to advance the family's fortunes. About this time the Hoysaḷas had in fact a choice between siding with the Chōḷas which was not quite likely as is judged from their policy and joining the more obviously suitable camp of the Chālukyas. The Hoysaḷas could have taken advantage of Chōḷa-Chālukya conflicts but they were not sufficiently strong at that time. Following the course which may have been suggested by the visit of Mallideva, Chālukya general, in 1024, he joined the ranks of the followers of the far-off emperor at Kalyāna and waited for an opportunity to profit from the connection. The inscription of 1047 says that the Hoysaḷa king assumed the title Tribhuvanamalla. This may mean one of the two things: it could indicate subordination to the Chālukya emperor Tribhuvanamalla or that the Hoysaḷa felt himself to be of such stature as a monarch as to merit the cognomen " Wrestler of the three worlds ". The balance of probability inclines to the former solution. Being a tributary

1. E.C., VI, No. 38.
2. See Krishna Sastri's ' The Hoysalas ' in Mythic Society Journal, II—114.
3. E.C., VI, Introduction.

of the Chālukyas Vinayāditya used the cognomen Trailokya-malla after emperor Somēśvara (1042–1068) and Tribhuvana-malla after emperor Vikramāditya VI (1076–1126).[1] Vinayāditya came to the throne at a time when the political situation in south India was extremely critical and difficult. Somēśvara I was ruling in the Chālukya territory in the height of his glory. Yet his position was not secure before the aggressive Chōḷas. The great battle of Koppam between the two powers did not settle the matter, each claiming the victory for himself. The Chāḷukyas continued to appoint governors of Gangavāḍi, although the Chōḷas claimed the ownership of it. It is quite probable that Vinayāditya, as one of the *mahamaṇḍalēśvara* of Somēśvara ruled half of the Gangavāḍi while the other half was under the control of the Chōḷas.[2]

Vinayāditya was considered to be the real founder of the Hoysaḷa dynasty or at least the first member worthy of mention after the mythical Saḷa. Derrett observes that his reign constituted a period in which the strength and resources of the Hoysaḷa dominions were conserved and consolidated. He undertook extensive conquests and in fact half of Gangavāḍi was governed by him.

What were the reactions of the Emperor of Kalyān to the Hoysaḷa progress? Prior to the accession of Vikramāditya VI in 1076 the Hoysaḷa expansion had been viewed without alarm. There had been a faint tradition of friendliness and before 1055 Vinayāditya had married off a daughter or a sister to the emperor himself.[3] In 1055 we learn that Hoysaḷa Dēvi, a senior queen, while residing at Kalyān, made a grant of land for the Mallikēśvara Tirtha of Onnali on the bank of the Tungabhadrā. The title *Tribhuvanamalla*[4] was in frequent use by the Hoysaḷa king and his peculiar relationship is confirmed by his substituting as a title the name of the

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1. E.C., VI, Cm. 15; E.C., V, Ak. 194.
2. S. K. Aiyangar: Ancient India, p. 118; Mythic Society Journal, VII, p. 297.
3. E.C., VII, Honnali I.
4. *Ibid.*: Kadur, 161.

emperor Trailokyamalla in or before 1061. Moreover, though he possessed the title "Rakkasa Poysaḷa or Demon Hoysaḷa", in imitation of the title 'Rakkasa-Ganga' held by several members of the Ganga family in earlier days, from about 1074 Vinayāditya bore the regular titles of a feudatory, of the highest class, of the Chālukya empire, that is to say 'Samadhigata-pancha-mahasabda-mahamandalesvara, or Lord of a great country who has achieved the dignity of the five great sounds." In fact Vinayāditya had been one of the strongest supporters of Soṃēśvara II and on being approached by him for aid had not failed to send a large contingent of Kannadiga troops out of his small kingdom under the command of his youthful son Ereyanga. Thus the latter took up an unusually heavy responsibility.

Ereyanga (1063–1100) does not appear to have ascended the throne. He probably predeceased his father. He had to take an active part in the administration as his father was quite old, at least eighty years towards the end of his rule. It is Ereyanga and not Vinayāditya that took part in the wars of Vikramāditya VI towards the close of the 11th century. An inscription in Kadur dated 1075 mentions, "Mahamaṇḍalēśvara Vīra Ereyanga Hoysaḷa Dēva ruling the kingdom in peace and wisdom".[1] Another inscription dated 1096 specifically mentions that 'Ereyanga Deva was associated with his father as Yuvarāja'.[2] It is quite clear that Ereyanga held the rank of *Yuvarāja* though to all practical purposes he was ruling his father's land. His was a peculiar case to have administered the kingdom for about 33 years only as a *Yuvarāja*. He was associated with Vikramāditya VI in his extensive conquests and is spoken of as a powerful right arm to the Chālukya king.[3] Long before Vikramāditya came to the throne Ereyanga helped him in his intrigues to displace his brother Somēśvara Bhuvanaikamalla who was ruling at that time.[4] Thus intimacy was

1. E.C., VI, Kd. 33.
2. *Ibid.*: Kd. 142.
3. *Ibid.*: II, Sb. 327, 345.
4. *Ibid.*: V, As. 102a.

developed between two most probably from 1055. When Vikramāditya was the Governor of Gangavāḍi. Another significant point to be remembered here is that the official use of the Chālukya-Vikrama era, that of Vikramāditya's coronation, commenced in the Hoysaḷa country in or before 1083 and thus the practical supremacy of the imperial family was admitted. It appears that the new emperor was keen on controlling those who had been responsible for his elevation and whom he accordingly regarded with apprehension. Further the Hoysaḷa loyalty depended on his enmity towards the Chōḷas and as long as Vikramāditya did not fear an invasion from the south he could afford to treat the Hoysaḷa in an off-hand manner. Thus the emperor viewed the Hoysaḷa with mixed feeling.

Ereyanga took an active part in wars, 'caused the Chālukya king to wear leaves', plundered the camp of the Chōḷas and inaugurated an extensive operation in the north.[1] It is probable that he fought with the enemies on behalf of the Chālukyas. One of his important victories in the north was at Dhara in Malva, the Kingdom of the Paramaras.[2] The conquest of Dhara seems to have been a glorious victory for Ereyanga because what the Chālukya emperor failed to accomplish was won by him without much difficulty.[3] In another epigraph it is said that Ereyanga easily won Dhara and made it over to his liege lord.[4]

By Echala Devi, Ereyanga had three sons, Ballāla I, Biṭṭideva (Vishṇuvardhana) and Udayāditya. Of these Ballāḷa I succeeded his grand-father on the throne in 1100.[5] He ruled up to 1107. He recognized the suzerainty of the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI from whom he took the cognomen Tribhuvanamalla. Ballāḷa defeated the Pāndya who had

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1. *Ibid.*: V, Ak. 102a; *Ibid.*: XII, Tp. 123; Mysore Inscriptions by Rice, p. 261.
2. S. K. Aiyangar. Ancient India, p. 234.
3. E.C., V, Ak. 117.
4. *Ibid.*: XII, Tp. 123.
5. *Ibid.*: V, Belur, 199.

been the ruler of Nolambavāḍi under the Chālukyas.[1] This attack clearly indicates the first attempts of the Hoysaḷas for independence. Further the relations between the Hoysaḷas and the Chālukyas were strained. From the study of the inscriptions, it can be gathered that Vikramāditya in his later years did not exert the same influence on his subordinates as in his early years, with the result adventurous chieftains tried to throw off the yoke of the imperial power. Among those Hoysaḷa brothers figure prominently.

Vishṇuvardhana (1108-1142) was the greatest of the Hoysaḷa line. He is celebrated as the rescuer of his country from the Chōḷas and the establisher of the independence of the Hoysaḷas. Although he made several attempts to overthrow the Chālukya suzerainty his works proved null and void. In spite of his failures he must be given the credit of having raised his territory to the dignity of a kingdom. His successors launched upon territorial conquests and established the most powerful empire in south India.

The contemporary inscriptions maintain that Vishṇuvardhana was a feudatory of the Western Chālukyas. His title *Mahamaṇḍalēśvara*, the description of him as *Chālukya-manimaṇḍalika-chudamani* or Crest-jewel among the feudatory chieftains of the jewel of the Chālukyas and the application to him of the feudal expression *tatpādapadmopa jivin* which means 'subsisting like a bee on the water-lilies which are the feet of the paramount sovereign'—show the position of a feudatory he occupied under Vikramāditya VI.

Actually from the beginning of the 12th century the Hoysaḷa rulers attempted to assume independence. The Chālukya ruler had been keeping a close watch on the Hoysaḷa progress with concern. As early as 1104 the emperor sent an army under Jagadeva to check the tide of Hoysaḷa progress but his attempt proved a failure. Vishṇuvardhana could have been a powerful support to his overlord had he been a friend, but as an enemy he was dangerous. Vishṇuvardhana knew that in

1. *Ibid.*: Bl. 58; S. K. Aiyangar: Ancient India, p. 235.

his old age Vikramāditya's hope rested in his faithful feudatories such as the Kadambas, the Pandyas and the Gangas. In 1120 Vishṇuvardhana attacked the Ganga king Naniya on the battle field of Halasur.[1] In 1125 the Ganga chief Permmadi suffered another defeat at the hands of the Hoysaḷas. Then Vishṇuvardhana defeated Tribhuvanamalla-Pandya in 1116.[2] He also defeated the Kadamba ruler of Goa, an important feudatory of the Chālukya.[3] Ganga Rāja drove the Chālukya army encamped at Kannegala near Hassan. By these successes, he caused Vishṇuvardhana to stand erect, that is, enabled him to assume independence.

In 1126 Vikramāditya VI passed away and was succeeded by Somēśvara on the Chālukya throne. The new ruler was not so powerful as his predecessor. Taking advantage of the situation he marched on the programme of conquests in the Kadamba territories. Yet the inscriptions of the time say that he was the *Mahamaṇḍalēśvara*.[4] Sir John Fleet says that the terms used in regard to his rule plainly indicate not only that he belonged to the more powerful among the *Mahamaṇḍalēśvara* who enjoyed a certain amount of independence and exercised much freedom of action but also that Vishṇuvardhana himself aimed at and probably even enjoyed still greater power than was enjoyed by his peers; for, while most of his records show simply the use of the technical expression of intermediate rank and authority belonging mostly to him and his equals, a few of them disclose the fact that he not infrequently described his authority by the current expression of paramount sovereignty. In fact what is more interesting is, in certain inscriptions belonging to his reign, all reference to Chālukya supremacy completely disappears.[5]

The inscriptions of the time reveal that the nominal suzerainty of the Chālukyas was recognized by the Hoysaḷas

1. E.C., VII, Sh. 17.
2. *Ibid.*: VII, Ci. 33; *Ibid.*: XI, Dg. 90.
3. *Ibid.*: VI, Cm. 104; Fleet: Kanarese Dynasties, p. 496.
4. Moraes: Kadambakula, 124.
5. E.C. V, Cn. 149, dated 1125.

up to about 1200 which marks the end of the Chālukyas as a ruling dynasty. A number of Hoysaḷa inscriptions in Chikkamagalur district dating from 1090 to 1137, that is, from Vikramāditya VI to Jagadēkamalla II and from 1136 to 1203, that is, from Jagadēkamalla II to Somēśvara IV, recognize the suzerainty of the Western Chālukya rulers. In the same way a number of Hoysaḷa inscriptions dating 1099 to 1174 in the Hassan district and other ranging from 1040 to 1200 in Tumkur district, recognize the suzerainty of the Western Chālukyas. In the reign of Narasiṁha II, there seems to be break mainly because the Western Chālukyas disappeared from the scene as a ruling dynasty and the Hoysaḷas carried on an aggressive policy occupying a part of their territories. The rest was occupied by the Yādavas of Dēvagiri. Thus the Hoysaḷas remained the feudatories of the Western Chālukyas of Kalyān as revealed in the contemporary inscriptions.

SĒUṆA SINGHAṆA'S OCCUPATION OF THE TUṄGABHADRĀ REGION – A DIPLOMATIC AND MILITARY MOVE

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THE LATTER HALF of the 12th century A.D. was a critical period in the history of Karnataka. The Chālukya kingdom which spread in the vast area between the Narmadā and Kāvērī was now facing the opposition from the enemies both inside and outside the country. Inside the kingdom a new power was coming up which finally shook the very root of the Chālukya kingdom. This power was that of the Kalachuris who were the subordinates of the Chālukyas themselves. This situation gave an opportunity to the other feudatories to cherish the ambition of establishing themselves as independent rulers. Prominent among such were the Sēuṇas and the Hoysaḷas. The former were the governors of parts of the northern region of the Chālukya kingdom and the latter were holding sway in the South.

In the middle of this century, in about 1156 A.D. the Chālukya kingdom received a severe blow from Kalachuri Bijjala II who even succeeded in usurping the Chālukya throne itself. This usurpation was temporary indeed in the sense that the Kalachuri power lost its hold within 20 years of the commencement of its rule. But the Chālukya power which was reinstated, could not also hold long. The disintegration that was set in by the Kalachuri usurpation finally ended in the division of the kingdom itself. The above mentiond Sēuṇa and Hoysaḷa powers had a signal role to play in this event.

The Sēuṇas began the career as the feudatories of the Rāshṭrakūṭas and continued to hold that position under the Chālukyas also, governing their hereditary territory of Sēuṇadēś'a. With the growth of the Chālukya power the

Sēuṇas also gained strength. The Hoysaḷas also were the subordinates of the Chālukyas but from as early as the days of Vishṇuvardhana himself, they were trying to be independent rulers. But they had to wait for a more opportune moment to fulfil their ambition.

This moment came practically with the Kalachuri revolt and usurpation. The Sēuṇas who now were sufficiently strong to assert themselves seized this opportunity and conducted themselves like independent rulers not accepting, even formally, the suzerainty of the Kalachuris. Instead, they opposed them. But the Hoysaḷas had to wait a little longer and they accepted, at least nominally, the overlordship of the Kalachuris.

In about 1182–83 A.D. the Chālukya king Sōmēs'vara IV succeeded in ousting the Kalachuris and getting back his kingdom but he could not establish his authority over the whole of the empire. The feudatory chiefs especially the Sēuṇas, were already powerful enough and, far from accepting the authority of their former masters, even opposed them. Bhillama V of this family realised that the Chālukyas were now a dying power and hastened to exploit the situation. From his hereditary capital Sindinēra i.e., Sinnar, he moved swiftly towards the Chālukya capital Kalyāṇa through S'rīvardhana and Parēṇḍā. He even faced the Chālukya army on the banks of the Gōdāvarī. He did not meet of course with immediate success. But within next two years, he could occupy a considerable part of the northern region of the Chālukya empire. Sōmēs'vara IV, unable to face the opposition, had to withdraw from the political scene.

This situation encouraged the Hoysaḷas also to assert themselves. Noticing the vacume in the Chālukya kingdom and the movements of Bhillama, Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa II moved on northwards and without any difficulty he could go as far as Beḷvola and pitch his camp at Lokkiguṇḍi or the modern, Lakkuṇḍi in Gadag taluk of Dharwar District. This was a new phase in the history of Karnataka. This land which was one whole unit between the Gōdāvarī and Kāvērī if not beyond,

was now claimed by the rival powers, Bhillama from the North, Ballāḷa from the South. The inevitable clash took place between the two and the famous battle of Soraṭūr made it clear that each claimant was too strong to withdraw in favour of the other. The area as far as Lakkuṇḍi now came under the Hoysaḷas and the area north of that remained under the Sēuṇas.

This position soon changed, when Singhaṇa II, the grandson of Bhillama ascended the Sēuṇa throne. In about 1200 A.D. he became the master of the land to the North of Beḷvola but he cherished the ambition of occupying the area south of it also. The Soraṭūr battle had indeed decided the issue. Ballāḷa camped frequently at Lakkuṇḍi and he had obviously left a garrison of his army there to guard the northern frontiers. Singhaṇa also must have thought that Ballāḷa was too formidable an enemy to face him directly. He therefore seems to have adopted a diplomatic move to achieve his end rather than a military one—He planned to pocket the smaller feudatory chiefs in the area and then tackled Ballāḷa.

More important of such chiefs in the region were the Śilāhāras of Kolhapur and Konkaṇ, the Raṭṭas of Saundatti and the Kadaṁbas of Goa. Singhaṇa tackled first Jayakēśi of Goa in the latter half of 1206 A.D. and without much difficulty won him over and established his authority there. The next was the turn of the Śilāhāras of Kolhapūr and then came the Raṭṭas of Saundatti. A number of inscriptions of Singhaṇa found in these areas indicate that he had easy success in these regions and by about 1213 A.D. he was in possession of this area. Then he moved towards the province of Banavāsi. Inscriptions indicate that there was hardly any opposition for him in this region and by 1215 A.D. he could appoint his own governors over this province. The adjacent province of Purigere soon came under him. The neighbouring chiefs, the Sindas of Beḷagutti were not in good terms with the Hoysaḷas. So they happily welcomed Singhaṇa and with their alliance he could occupy the areas upto Tungabhadrā, except Beḷvola which continued to be under Ballāḷa. This

move isolated Ballāḷa. The chiefs around this region were now under Singhaṇa and Ballāḷa could not muster their help. Almost helplessly he had to withdraw from Beḷvola. We find inscriptions of Ballāḷa in this area dated upto 1212 A.D. but not later. Singhaṇa's inscription in this area appear from 1215 A.D. There is no reference to any battle between the two, in the available records. Thus the transfer was almost peaceful.

With these developments Singhaṇa became the master of the Chālukya empire as far as Tungabhadrā in the South and events show that expeditions of his successors did result in some territorial gains below this river but that was only of temporary nature and practically Tungabhadrā remained as a border between the Sēuṇa and the Hoysaḷa kingdoms.

This was indeed an event of far reaching political significance. Till this period Karnataka which spread between the Gōdāvarī and Kāvērī had remained one territorial unit. But now it came to be divided. Kannada culture now had to grow under two different dynasties. Both were indeed of Kannada stock but due to different affiliations and different attitudes, different traits started appearing among the people. The Vijayanagara kingdom tried to bring a synthesis but much of the northern region was beyond its perview. Later history shows that due to political events the difference in the traditions, customs and manners of the two peoples—those above the Tungabhadrā and those below—continued to be more and more marked. Thanks to the protagonists of linguistic states, the two peoples have now been brought under one rule and these differences are being slowly ironed out.

THE HOYSAḶAS AND THE TAMIL KINGDOMS

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THE HOYSAḶAS OF Dōrasamudra were the most powerful dynasty in the Deccan at the close of the twelfth Century. The relations they maintained with the other ruling families of the South, especially the Chālukyas whose feudatories they were for more than a Century and the Tamil Kingdoms with which they had direct dealings, constitute an important aspect of South Indian history. A study of their relations with the Tamil country is attempted in this paper.

Long before they attained independent status, the Hoysaḷas, as feudatories of the Chālukya monarchs, took an active part in the wars between the Chālukyas and the Chōḷas contesting for the Sovereignty of the Deccan. There is sufficient epigraphic evidence to prove the Hoysaḷa participation in the affairs of the Chōḷa country. A record from Kaleyūr mentions that a Chōḷa general Apramēya, defeated some Hoysaḷa Chieftains.[1] Bilhana's account of the war between the Chālukyas and the Chōḷas mentions the name of the Hoysaḷa Chieftain Ereyanga among the vassals who fought for the Chālukya monarch Vikramāditya VI

The rise of the Hoysaḷa power in the twelfth century under Bittiga, better known as Vishṇuvardhana adversely affected the Chōḷa fortunes in the Mysore Country. The Chōḷas suffered great reverses in that region and were forced to cede considerable portions of their territory to the Hoysaḷas. Vishṇuvardhana was a great soldier and an ambitious ruler. He attacked the Chōḷa Province of Gangavati, defeated Adigaimān, the Chōḷa Governor of Talakkād and annexed the

1. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri: Cōḷas; Second Edition, Madras, 1955, p. 190. Notes 24 to Chapter IX.

province in 1116 A.D.[1] The Bēlūr copper Plate grant of 1117 A.D. records that Vishṇuvardhana "was the first to promote the race of Yadu[2] to the rule of the dominions of the Gaṅgas; and that he burnt the capital city of the Gaṅgas". The title "Talakkād-gonda" is first applied to Vishṇuvardhana in an inscription dated 1116 A.D. and in the same year he is described as ruling in Talakkadu and Kōlāla (Kolar) over the whole of Gangavati as far as Kongu[3]. The Province was conquered for the Hoysaḷa King by his famous general Gangarāja. The Hoysaḷa Victory resulted in the expulsion of the Tamils from Gangavati. During his military raids in the Chōḷa country Vishṇuvardhana claims to have marched up to Rāmes'waram.[4] The Hoysaḷa triumph is corroborated by epigraphic evidence which confirms that the Chōḷa Viceroy was driven across the Kāvērī when Talakkād was captured by Gangarāja before 1117 A.D.[5]

Apart from territorial ambition and military antagonism, religion also played an important part in aggravating hostilities between the Hoysaḷas and the Chōḷas. Rāmānuja, the celebrated Vaishṇava philosopher and teacher, fell out with the Chōḷa King who was a staunch S'aiva and sought asylum in the Hoysaḷa county. The Hoysaḷa monarch, Bittiga, came under the influence of Rāmānuja, who converted him to vaishṇavism. The king then adopted the name of Vishṇuvardhana and erected temples of unsurpassed magnificience in honour of Vishṇu. The Hoysaḷa King, in his early days, was a zealous Jain and encouraged his minister Gangarāja to restore the Jain temples destroyed by the Chōḷa invaders. The destruction of

1. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri: A History of South India, London, 1955, p. 184.

2. The Gaddak inscriptions describe the Hoysala dynasty as an off shoot of the Yadavas and give the Hoysala genealogy beginning with Yadu (See The Indian Antiquary, Vol. II, 1873 p. 299. Article on Gaddak Inscriptions by J. F. Fleet).

3. Lewis Rice: Mysore and Coorg, p. 93.

4. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri: The Pandyan Kingdom, London, 1929, p. 129.

5. Indian Antiquary: Vol. XXXVII. 1908, p. 229.

Jain temples by the Chōḷas and their restoration by the Hoysaḷas must have embittered the relations between the two powers. "Though Kings in India during this period practised the normal Hindu tolerance, political wars were embittered by sectarian passion and serious persecution was not unknown".[1]

After his victory over the Chōḷas, Vishṇuvardhana turned against the Chālukya monarch Vikramāditya and gained considerable success in the initial stages. He won over to his side the Pāndya ruler of Uccangi[2] and advanced to the Krishna in the North. The Chālukyas expelled the Hoysaḷas from their territories and chased the Pāndyas with great Vigour. However the Hoysaḷas recouped their strength and taking advantage of the decline of the Chōḷas, consolidated their ascendancy in the North. Meanwhile the Pāndyas established themselves in the South.

The Chōḷas were alarmed at the rapid ascendancy of the Hoysaḷas and their King Kulōttunga III (1178–1218) fought a vigorous campaign in the Kongu country to check the growth of Hoysaḷa power in that region. His relations with the Hoysaḷa monarch Ballāla II seem to have become friendly afterwards for Ballāla married a Chōḷa princess.[3] Towards the close of his reign Kulōttunga was overwhelmed by the Pāndyas and the situation was retrieved by the intervention of the Hoysaḷas. It seems that the Hoysaḷas were uneasy over the growing power of the Pāndyas and hence they wanted to strengthen the Chōḷa Kingdom as a buffer state.

In the first half of the thirteenth century, the Hoysaḷas fought many wars against the Pāndyas ostensibly to save the Chōḷa Kingdom from annihilation. Literary and epigraphic evidence testifies to the frequency of such wars. Gadya-karṇāmṛita of Sakala-Vidyā Cakravartin, a historical prose work in Sanskrit after the model of Bana's Harsha Charita, deals

1. Vincent Smith: Oxford History of India, Third Edition, 1958, p. 218.
2. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri: A History of South India, p. 184.
3. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri: A History of South India, p. 188.

with the 90 days 'battle between the Hoysaḷa Narasimha II and the Pāndya and his allies with the object of restoring the fallen fortunes of the Chōḷas about 1234 A.D. The information supplied by this manuscript regarding Hoysaḷa intervention in favour of the Chōḷas is confirmed by numerous Hoysaḷa inscriptions.[1] The Tiruvēndipuram inscription recording in detail the sufferings of the Chōḷa Monarch Rājarāja III (1216-1246) and the relief he obtained from his Hoysaḷa contemporary is the most important among the handful of purely historical inscriptions.[2] Narasimha II was obliged to intervene thrice in the affairs of the Chōḷa Kingdom and ultimately set up his son Somēs'wara as ruler of a small tract on the Kāvēri River near S'rīrangam to keep peace between the Chōḷas and the Pāndyas. The Hoysaḷa intervention was prompted by considerations of self interest and profit.

By the middle of the 13th century, the hegemony of the South passed into the hands of the Pāndyas. Sundara Pāndya established his supremacy over the Hoysaḷas of Dōrasamudra and the Chōḷas of Tanjore and Kāñchi. The Pāndyas had wrested S'rīrangam from the Hoysaḷas. Taking advantage of the hostilities between the Hoysaḷas and the Pāndyas, the Chōḷas eventually ousted the Hoysaḷa from his ancestral dominion by defeating S'ōmēs'vara about 1254 A.D. Sōmēs'vara became so absorbed in the politics of the Tamil country that he neglected his affairs on the Plateau. He seldom visited Dōrasamudra and allowed Hoysaḷa diplomatic activity there to lapse. In 1257 Sundara Pāndya conquered every principality in the plains as far northwards as the frontiers of the Kākatīya dominions, reducing the Hoysaḷas to submission. The blow to the Hoysaḷa prestige was great. Rāmanātha, Somēs'vara's son by Dēvikā Dēvi became a licensee of the Pāndya King and ruled the Hoysaḷa fief in the South and Narasimha III, Somēs'vara's son by Bijjala Devi ruled the Kingdom at Dōrasamudra. The civil war between the two brothers destroyed

1. C. S. Srinivasachari : Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. II, p. 190.
2. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri : The Colas, p. 5.

the unity of the Kingdom and made it a prey to the activities of the surrounding chiefs.

The ascendancy of the Pāndyas was only short lived. The balance of power in the South was unsteady. Though the Hoysaḷas were pressed by the Pāndyas and the Chōḷas, they still had substantial dominion and resources and of the three powers, they alone could keep in check, at least for a time, the rush of the Muslim invaders from the North.[1] The Hoysaḷa power revived under Ballāḷa III, who established his sway in the Tamil country. Jatavarman Vīrapāndya was defeated by the Hoysaḷa General Mādhava Dandanāyaka of whom contemporary records speak as the conqueror of Nīlagiri and founder of the Dandanāyakan Kottai (the modern Dannāyakan Kōttai of the Coimbatore District).[2] From 1291 to 1342 and even for some years afterwards the Hoysaḷas exerted supreme influence over the Tamil Country. Many inscriptions of Ballāḷa III refer to his presence at temple ceremonies and assignments of lands to temples and remission of taxes.[3]

From the foregoing review, it is clear that the Hoysaḷas intervened frequently in the affairs of the Tamil country and maintained the balance of power in the South by helping the Chōḷas in their struggle for survival against the rising power of the Pāndyas. However the internecine warfare among the South Indian Kingdoms depleted their striking power and exhausted their resources and ultimately rendered them incapable of resisting the attacks from the North. Frequent wars, petty jealousies and parochial outlook destroyed the unity of the South and made the Hoysaḷas and the Tamils an easy prey to the muslim invasions from the North.

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1. Indian Antiquary: Vol. L. I, 1922, p. 232.
2. M. Arokiaswami: The Kongu Country Madras, 1950, pp. 216 & 217.
3. *Ibid.*: p. 217.

SOME IMPORTANT HOYSAḶA FEUDATORIES

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A LARGE NUMBER of Feudatory families flourished under major ruling dynasties of Karnāṭaka and contributed in no small measure to the political activity of the times. These feudatories were, generally, never static and faithful to a particular ruling family. They always had their own good in their mind and hence changed sides as demanded by the exigencies of the political situation. During the Hoysaḷa period there were many such feudatory families, and it is not possible to treat all of them here. Hence a study of the relationship that existed between the Hoysaḷas and some of those families is attempted here.

The Changalvas: The Changalvas were a family of Kings who ruled in the Western portion of Mysore district and Coorg. Modern Hunsur taluk was their original home and from there they spread to other neighbouring areas and were a source of constant trouble of the Hoysaḷas.

It cannot be said with certainty when exactly the conflict between the Hoysaḷas and Changalvas began. Derrett is positive that Vinayāditya did not attack the Changalvas.[1] But there are some references in inscriptions which can be taken as referring to Changalvas and Kongalvas. An inscription from Bēlūr states that the sons of hill-kings placed their heads at the lotus feet of Vinayāditya.[2] These hill chiefs may perhaps be identified as the Changalvas. This is further corroborated by an inscription of A.D. 1091. This inscription mentions certain grants made by Changalva chief Nariyapergade during the rule of Vinayāditya.[3] Whether Changalvas Continued to be faithful

1. Derrett: The Hoysalas, p. 27.
2. E.C., Vol. V. B. 158.
3. MAR., 1925, p. 95.

subordinates hereafter cannot be said with certainty. However, it can be said that the wars between these two dynasties started during the time of Vinayāditya.

No conflicts between the two dynasties occured during the reign of Hoysaḷa King Ereyanga. The next Hoysaḷa ruler Ballāḷa I distinguished himself by a victory over the Changalvas. The comparative inaction of Ereyanga against them had made the Changalvas strong enough to assume high sounding titles. Ballāḷa who observed this plunged into action against the Changalvas. By about 1104 A.D., Ballāḷa was on an expedition against Changalvadeva. Two inscriptions from the very border of the Changalva territories clearly show that Ballāḷa encamped there on his forward march.[1] According to one of these inscriptions a battle was fought at Hosavīḍu in which many brave warriors died. By this defeat, the Changalvas, however, did not become the subordinates of Hoysaḷas. They were checked to a considerable extent.

But by 1116 A.D., they attracted the attention of Hoysaḷa Vishṇuvardhana. The Hoysaḷa King on an expedition against the Changalvas, Kongalvas and the Tuḷunāḍu, subjugated the Changalva ruler. But this did not prove effective and the Changalvas indulged in anti-Hoysaḷa activities soon after. In 1124 A.D., Vishṇvardhana's army marched under the headship of Bokināyaka who killed Balla and others of the enemy camp. An inscription describes this battle in graphic terms.[2] Bokināyaka attacking the elephants of the Changalvas, "treading upon the enemy like cumin seed till disgust arose . . . . gained the world of Gods". Another inscription clearly states that the Changalva territory came under the sway of the Hoysaḷas. Another inscription credits Visṇuvardhana with the title submarine fire to the Changalvas.[3] Probably, for some time the Changalvas acknowledged the suzerainty of the Hoysaḷas as evidenced by an inscription of 1139 A.D. in which year

1. E.C., Vol. V, Hn. 161, 162.
2. E.C., Vol. V, Bl. 178.
3. E.C., Vol. V, Hn. 69.

certain gifts were made by the Hoysaḷa King to a Changalva Kings Officer.[1]

Though the Changalvas were subjugated by Vishṇuvardhana, the advantageous geographical position in hilly and impregnable tract they had occupied encouraged them to assert their independence. They began harassing the Hoysaḷa ruler Narasimha I as the latter was busily engaged in the northern parts of his empire. In 1145 Narasiṁha I sent an expedition against the Changalvas who were again defeated.

But Ballāḷa II before becoming the emperor befriended the Changalvas. The Changalvas thought this was a good opportunity for them to fish in troubled waters and they readily supported the cause of Ballāḷa II.[2] This must have happened in 1172 A.D. Taking advantage of this, Changalvadēva began making preparations to become completely independent. By that time Ballāḷa II had assumed full royal powers and felt secure to disregard the friendliness towards the Changalvas. In 1174 A.D., Ballāḷa II sent an army against Changalva Mahadēva under the guidance of his trusted general Bettarasa. Fearing this attack Changalvadēva retired to interior portion of Kodagu and took refuge in the fort at Palpare. Bettarasa fought Valiantly and occupied Palpare fort. This was a complete success for the Hoysaḷas and Changalva area came under the Hoysaḷas. This is evidenced by the presence of Hoysaḷa inscriptions and the absence of Changalva inscription in their area. Hoysaḷa inscriptions begin to appear in Coorg from 1175 A.D. Five years later i.e., in 1180, there was a minor rebellion in the Changalvanad and Ballāḷa II himself marched there and brought the rebellion under control. For sometime there was no trouble in the Changalva area to the Hoysaḷas. Many Changalva inscriptions of this period mention Ballāḷa II as their overlord.

But Changalvadēva's son Changalva Pemma Vīrappa rallied round his forces with the help of Kodagu Chiefs

1. VI, Cm. 137.
2. MAR. 1912-13, p. 36.

Badaganda Nandidēva, Udayādityadēva and others.[1] This combined army marched to Palpare and drove the Hoysaḷas out. This must have happened during the time of Ballāḷa III. Finally they were overpowered by the Hoysaḷa rulers and they retired to Coorg. By 1245 A.D., they built a new city called Kodagu Śrīrangapaṭṭana. In 1252 the Changalva Kings Sōmadēva and Boppadēva were the subordinates of the Hoysaḷa King Somēśwara. How long they remained as faithful subordinates of the Hoysaḷas is not known. Though they surviv edthe Hoysaḷas, we have no information regarding their relationship with the Hoysaḷas.

The Kongalvas : The Kongalvas, another feudatory family, ruled Kongalnad consisting of the modern Arakalagud taluk and parts of north Kodagu. They were the subordinates of the Chōḷas and with their backing harassed the Hoysaḷas. The Kongalvas who were less terbulent than the Changalvas maintained a mixed relationship with Hoysaḷas.

The Kongalva Chief Rājēndra Chōḷa Prithvi Mahārāja Kongalva felt so strong as to invite Hoysaḷa Nripakama to a fight. An inscription of A.D. 1022, refers to this fight and from this we can gain the impression that Nripakama suffered a defeat.[2] Encouraged by this, Kongalva Maharaja came a second time against Hoysaḷa Nripakama. According to an inscription coming from Honnūr dated 1026 A.D.[3], the battle was fought at Manni, and Kongalva was victorious in this battle. But it is difficult to believe this inscription. For a period of thirty years, we do not hear of the name of this Kongalva King in this locality. Had it been a victory for the Kongalva King as evidenced by the Honnūr inscription cited above, it becomes difficult to explain the absence of Kongalva record in this area (Nelamangala).

Hoysaḷa King Vinayāditya while on his expedition against the Changalvas, either before or after defeating them, diverted his attention towards the Kongalvas. Though the Kongalvas are

1. E.C., IV, Hs. 20.
2. E.C., Vol. V, MJ. 43.
3. E.C., Vol. V, Ag. 76.

not mentioned by name in a record, the hill chiefs referred to here may be the Kongalvas. A large number of Vinayāditya's inscriptions found in the Kongalva area during this period is significant.

During the time of Vishṇuvardhana, the Kongalvas made many minor incursions into the Hoysaḷa territory. Vishṇuvardhana's general Punisa who was otherwise busy turned his attention towards the Kongalvas. Punisa very ably put down the Kongalvas and because of this achievement Vishṇuvardhana assumed the title "a wild fire in burning the forest, the Kongalva King".[1] Derret to strengthen this point states that Vishṇuvardhana entered into a matrimonial alliance with the Kongalvas. According to him Kogalvaraja's daughter Channdaladēvi was given in marriage to Viahṇuvardhana.[2] But it is not certain whether she was a Kongalva princess.

When Hoysaḷa Narasiṁha's I position was not comfortable the turbulent Kongalvas made an attempt to attack the Hōysaḷas. During the end of Narasiṁha's reign in 1171, Vīra Dodda Kongalvadēva's trusted general Rudra attacked the Hoysaḷas at Molateyabidu. The Kongalva inscriptions claim a victory for themselves. We have no means of knowing the truth as no Hoysaḷa inscription speaks about this battle.

But, however, the pleasure of this victory of the Kongalvas did not last long. Ballāḷa II as a rebel against his father Narasiṁha I joined hands with the Kongalvas. We do not know on what terms, the Kongalvas gave their support to Ballāḷa II. The Kongalvas became a faithful feudatory family under Ballāḷa II. Many inscriptions of the Kongalvas mention Ballāḷa II as their overlord. Even Ballāḷa's queen Padmadēvi is seen making gifts to temples in the Kongalva territory.[3] From that time onwards in 1176 A.D., they continued to be Hoysaḷa subordinates.

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1. E.C., V, Hn, 102.
2. Derrett: The Hoysalas, p. 48.
3. E.C., I, Cg/33.

The Kadambas of Hangal: Hoysaḷa Vishṇuvardhana with a view to expand his Kingdom was exhausting all possible opportunities. Realising the importance of the Hangal Kadambas, he was making raids into their territory as a beginning of his plan of conquest. Though, as early as 1120 A.D. Hanumgal appears in his *prashasti* it was perhaps not until 1130 A.D., Vishṇuvardhana made an attack on the Kadambas. Taila II was the contemporary Kadamba ruler at Hangal. His general Taila Nāga opposed the army of Vishṇuvardhana. The mighty Hoysaḷa army defeated Kadamba general and proceeded to Hangal, and laid siege to the fort there. Taila II was no match to the superior Hoysaḷa army and hence Taila II fell fighting.[1] Vishṇuvardhana lost no time in assuming high sounding titles significant of this achievement.

After the death of Taila II, his eldest son Mayūra Varman III came to the throne. In his inscription he is stated to be ruling Banavase, Hangal and Sāntaḷige. It is doubtful whether this was just a *prashasti* or a fact, because Vishṇuvardhana's conquest seems to be almost complete. Mallikārjuna succeeded Mayūrvarman III and he began to retrieve the situation for the Kadambas atleast temporarily. He began minor incursions against the Hoysaḷas to divert Vishṇuvardhana's concentration on Hangal. The Hoysaḷa general Gangadeva put an end to all these incursions and is stated to have laid siege to Hangal.[2] We have evidence to say that Vishṇuvardhana occupied Hangal atleast for sometime. An inscription states that Vishṇuvardhana was ruling the Kingdom from Hangal. Thus he achieved great success against the Kadambas.

After the death of Vishṇuvardhana Narasiṁha came to the Hoysaḷa throne. During the period the Kadambas seem to have reoccupied most parts which they had lost during the previous period. Though we are not sure of the conflicts that ensued between the two dynasties during the period, many *vīragals* of the period speak about battles that took place. In

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1. E.C., Vol. XII, Tp. 31.
2. E.C., Vol. V, Bl. 202.

an inscription it is said that Kadamba Tailama drove the Hoysaḷas out of his country. But a Hoysaḷa inscription states that Narasiṁha's generals entered the Kadamba territory, defeated the Kadamba King and returned with a large amount of booty. From these conflicting evidences, it becomes difficult to trace the events that took place.

Kadamba Kāmadēva, one of the important rulers of his dynasty, was a contemporary of Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa II. The constant struggles among the Hoysaḷas, Kālachūris, and the Chālukyas, which marked the period, were uneventful years for the Kadambas. They suffered most in these struggles. However, Kadamba Kāmadēva was making attempts to become independent. He even assumed the title Kadamba Chakravarthi.[1] Ballāḷa II who was making himself powerful in all fronts attacked Kamadeva many times. The evidence that is available from inscriptions is indeed conflicting on this point. Probably, the conflict began at the strong fort Uddhare, very near Hangal. By 1181 A.D. this fort was under the Hoysaḷas as evidenced by an inscription.[2] But by 1196 A.D. this fort was under Kadamba Kamadeva. According to an inscription, Ballala's soldiers were completely defeated and Kamadeva drove the Hoysaḷas out of Uddhare.[3] It is really surprising that Kamadeva could stand against the Hoysaḷas, that too under Ballala II. Moraes goes to the extent of saying that in Kadamba Kamadeva, Hoysala Ballāḷa II met his equal.[4]

Sēvuṇa Singhana had become highly powerful during the first part of the 13th century A.D., and even the Hoysaḷas had to occupy a secondary position in the political scene of contemporary Karnāṭaka. Kadambas were very happy at this humble position of the Hoysaḷas. Though the Kadamba area came under the Sēvuṇas, it is interesting to note that Kadamba inscriptions are found in the locality without mentioning any overlords. Mallidēva styles himself Kadamba chakravarti.

1. E.C., Vol. VIII, Sb. 439.
2. E.C., Vol. VII, Sk. 212.
3. E.C., Vol. Sk. 244.
4. Moraes, Kadambakula, p. 147.

Singhana recognising the strategic importance of the Kadambas in his anti-Hoysaḷa activities must have allowed Mallidēva a special concession of his imperial title. The Kadambas, too, must have felt satisfied by such a gesture, for it gave them some security against their neighbours the Hoysaḷas. By such an arrangement the Kadambas saved themselves temporarily from the clutches of the Hoysaḷas.

In the death of Singhana, the Kadambas lost a powerful friendly ruler. Probably taking advantage of this situation, the Hoysaḷas seem to have invaded the Kadamba territory and to have taken possession of many Kadamba towns. But Mallidēva was too old and his successor Rāmadēva was not powerful. Hence it is quite likely as the Hoysaḷa inscriptions state the Kadamba power was rudely shaken.[1]

During the time of Kavarasa, the last great ruler of the Hangal Kadambas, the fortunes of the family looked brighter. Kavarasa rendered help to Saluva Tikkama, a great general of Sēvuṇa Rāmachandra. Tikkama marched against the Hoysaḷas and even plundered Dōrasamudra. In this compaign Tikkama reoccupied many parts of Banavāsi and Hangal. Though Tikkama was not completely successful in his attempt, he was able to restore the Kadamba territory to Kavadēva. He even assumed the title establisher of the Kadamba king.[2]

By about 1300 A.D. Ballāḷa III made an attempt to defeat Kadamba Kavadēva. But he does not seem to have achieved any significant success. Thus the Kadambas eluded the Hoysaḷa rulers. But it has to be noted that the energies of the Hoysaḷa rulers were wasted by the successive attacks against the Kadambas of Hangal, which after all did not bring them any permanent gains.

The Santaras of Humcha : The Santaras of ancient Pomburchapura played a significant role in the history of Karnāṭaka. Santara country being situated in the fertile valley, attracted the Hoysaḷas. Hence there were many conflicts between the

1. E.C., Vol. VIII, Sa. 58.
2. E.C., Vol. XI, Dg. 59.

Hoysaḷas and the Santaras of Humcha. Vinayāditya with a view to expand his kingdom turned towards the Santaras. Though the exact details are not known, it is clear that the Hoysaḷa army under Vinayāditya defeated the Santaras. Many *vīragals* testify to this fact. Two inscriptions of Vīra Santaradēva of 1062 and 1068 A.D. do not help us to know the details of the conflict. But the comparative rarity of Santara inscriptions in the area is a clue to testify that they were defeated. This is further corroborated by the fact that Vīra Santara's son married a Hoysaḷa princess. But however, this should not be taken to mean that the Santaras were completely subjugated by Vinayāditya. There existed between the two dynasties some sort of an uneasy friendship.

Vishṇuvardhana wanted to enlist the support of the Santaras to subdue the Kadambas. Hence he first attacked them and took their fort at Humcha. By this the Santaras became subordinates. The Santaras allied themselves with the Hoysaḷas in many wars during this period. Some inscriptions credit Vishṇuvardhana with a victory over Santara King Jagadēva.[1] However, there is every reason to believe that it was during Hoysaḷa Narasiṁha's period that Jagadēva began harassing the Hoysaḷa with the help of the Kalachuris.

During the time of Ballāḷa II, the Santaras were faithful subordinates and assisted the Hoysaḷa ruler in his wars. It was with the active support of the Santaras that Ballāḷa II was able to keep control over the neighbouring minor powers. Thus the Santaras of Humcha helped in the development of the Hoysaḷa empire as feudatories.

The Santaras of Hosagunda: It is not known when exactly the Hoysagunda Santaras branched off from the main line. But we know that one Biraras was probably it's leader. These Santaras were very weak and they were on the verge of being wiped out of existence by the Sēvuṇas. Hence, these Santaras became the feudatories of the Hoysaḷas, just to save themselves from the powerful Sēvuṇas. Even the Hoysaḷa rulers were

1. Mysore Inscriptions, p. 263.

very happy at this gesture of the Santaras. In 1239 A.D. Birarasa attacked an army of the Sēvunas, with the hope of getting Hoysaḷa support. But Birarasa's calculations proved wrong and the Sēvuṇa generals distinguished themselves against Birarasa.

But the Santaras were waiting for an opportunity to invade the Sēvuṇa Kingdom with the help of Hoysaḷas. The opportunity presented itself when Sēvuṇa King Mahadēva after defeating Kadamba Kavadēva, marched against the Santara King Bommarasa. With the aid promptly sent by the Hoysaḷas, Bommarasa was able to repulse Mahadēva's attack.[1]

But they could not play the same game for long. Saḷuva Tikkama, a great Sēvuṇa general under Rāmachandra after defeating the Hoysaḷas and establishing Kadamba Kavadēva on his throne,[2] marched against the Santaras of Hosagunda. The Santara chief Bommarasa could not get any help from the Hoysaḷas and hence he was defeated. Bommarasa became a Sēvuṇa feudatory in 1276 A.D. Sometime after this, taking advantage of the critical position of the Sēvuṇas, the Santara Chief freed himself from the Sēvuṇas and began ruling independently. At this stage Ballāḷa III intervened, defeated the Santara ruler Bommarasa and took full possession of Hosagunda.

1. E.C., Vol. VIII, Sa. 137–140.
2. E.C., Vol. XI, Dg. 59.

THE HOYSALAS AND THE TULU COUNTRY

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THE PRESENT-DAY district of South Kanara, with bits of adjoining tracts, was differently called, through the long period of its known history, as Tuḷu-nādu, Tuḷu-vishaya, Tuḷu-dēśa, Tuḷu-rājya, Tuḷuva, Tauḷava and Āḷuvakhēḍa-6000. From at least the middle of the 5th century A.D.,[1] this coastal tract was under the sway of the long-standing local ruling house of the Āḷupas. During the early period of their history, from the middle of the 5th to the end of the 8th century, the Āḷupas make their appearance, through inscriptions discovered in South Kanara itself, as the sole rulers of their ancestral kingdom and, through inscriptions discovered outside the bounds of South Kanara, as the feudatories of the Early Kadambas, the Chalukyas of Bādāmi, the Pallavas of Kāñchi and the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānyakhēṭa. And then, for the next six hundred years or so, from the beginning of the 9th century until they make their tacit exit from the political arena in about the end of the 14th century, they appear as politically independent and sovereign rulers, more or less confined to their native kingdom of South Kanara; this is not to say that, during this long period, the Āḷupas never once tasted the bitter pill of subjugation and subordination. There is sufficient epigraphical evidence, again mostly coming from outside the bounds of South Kanara, to assert that, in the early years of the 8th century, the Pāṇḍyas of Madurai overran the Āḷupa kingdom

1. Aḷapa-gaṇa Paśupati, who figures as a subordinate of the Early Kadambas in the Halmiḍi inscription (*M.A.R.*, 1936, pp. 72 ff.) which is to be assigned, on palaeographical grounds, to the middle of the fifth century A.D., may be safely considered as the first hitherto known Āḷupa ruler.

right upto Mangalore[1] and that, early in the 12th century, the Tuḷu country was occupied, for a brief period, by the Chōḷa forces.[2] Also, during the reign of Chāḷukya Vikramāditya VI (1076–1126 A.D.), the Āḷupas had to face at least two Hoysaḷa invasions, with which I will deal in some detail by and by. These were, more or less, stray and rare instances of the military stress to which the Āḷupas were subjected during their long period of independence and sovereignty from the 8th to the 14th centuries. That they were an independent power within their own ancestral territory is well proved by the facts that the medieval Āḷupas, right down to the last known ruler of that dynasty, were given a string of sovereign titles and epithets and that not even one of the fairly good number of Āḷupa inscriptions thus far discovered in South Kanara makes any mention whatsoever of their possible subordination to any of the imperial houses of the Deccan and the Tamil country. In fact, the only reference to an imperial dynasty in any of the Tuḷuva epigraphs is found in the Bārakūru inscription[3] of Baṅkidēva I (1020–50 A.D.), which states that he successfully vacated Chōḷa aggression from the Tuḷu country (*māṛi mēlevanda Chōḷana daṇḍaṁ beṅkoṇḍ-areyaṭṭi Tuḷu-vishayadoḷ nij-ajneyaṁ nilisi)*. The Mūḍabidure inscription[4] of 1397 A.D. endows Vīra-Pāṇḍyadēva II, the last hitherto known Āḷupa ruler, with all the usual sovereign titles of the dynasty, viz., *Samasta-bhuvana-vikhyāta, Pāṇḍya-Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara* and *Paramabhaṭṭāraka.*

This brings us face to face with a peculiar situation which has perhaps no parallel elsewhere in the known annals of our country's history. Early in the fourth decade of the 14th century or, to be more exact, from at least the beginning of the year

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1. *Ep.Ind.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 291 ff. Also see K. V. Ramesh: *A History of South Kanara* (1970), pp. 56 ff.

2. *Ep.Ind.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 213 ff. Also see K. V. Ramesh: *op.cit.*, pp. 101 ff.

3. *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 327. Also see K. V. Ramesh: *op.cit.*, pp. 102–03.

4. *Ibid.*: No. 221; Also see K. V. Ramesh: *op.cit.*, pp. 148–49.

1333 A.D., even while the Āḷupas were seated on their throne at Bārahakanyāpura or modern Bārakūru, the Tuḷu country also came under the sway of the last effective Hoysaḷa ruler, Ballāḷa III. Yet another element of surprise and confusion in the history of South Kanara during this period is the fact that, from at least the very beginning of 1345 A.D., even while the Āḷupas and the Hoysaḷas were running parallel and apparently independent administrations, the Tuḷu country also came under the sway of the Vijayanagara rulers.[1] The latest as yet known Hoysaḷa inscription[2] found in South Kanara was written in June, 1348 A.D. Thus, for at least three and a half years, from the beginning of 1345 A.D. to the middle of 1348 A.D., South Kanara was under the rule of three different powers, (1) the Āḷupas who, though a minor power, adopted sovereign titles and epithets; (2) the Hoysaḷas, whose dowager queen Chikkāyi Tāyi was, in her turn, endowed with all the characteristic titles and epithets of the Āḷupas and (3) the Vijayanagara emperors, who, though the most powerful of the three, were calling themselves at that time merely as *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras*. The resultant confusion is worse confounded by the facts that all these three powers had their seats of administration at Bārakūru and that they do not make direct or even indirect references to one another in any of their available inscriptions from South Kanara.

The first recorded conflict between the Hoysaḷas and the Āḷupas took place in the early years of the 12th century. This fact is brought to light by an inscription[3] from Karaḍi, Tiptur Taluk, Tumkur District. Though the date of this epigraph falls in 1115 A.D., it refers to an earlier invasion of the Tuḷu country in the following words:

Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Tribhuvanamalla
Vishṇuvardhana-Hoysaḷadēvaru
Gaṅgavāḍi-toṁbhattārusāsiramaṁ
sukhadin-āḷuttam-ire . . . . . Seṭṭi-

1. K. V. Ramesh: *op.cit.*, pp. 134, 143 ff.
2. *A.R. Ep.*, 1930-31, No. 360.
3. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XII, Tp. 81.

gāvuṇḍan-Āḷuvakhēḍav-arusāsiradalu
nigaḷav-ikki Jayasiṅg-Āḷuvarana munde
surige-gāḷagavaṁ kādi gelu-bandu
Kariviḍi-Hirūralu gāvuṇḍutanaṁ
geyvuttam-ire Śaka-kālada 1036 neya
Jaya-saṁvatsarada Chaitra śuddha
pāḍiva Vaḍḍavārad-andu Sīre-nāḍa
Halikāra-nāyakaru bandu . . . . .
turuvaṁ pariyisalu tāne kādi palaran-
iridu turuva-magulchi sura-lōka-
prāptan-āda.

This is an important, yet badly misunderstood inscription and hence the long quotation. In the text quoted above, Rice had wrongly read *Jayasiṅga Āḷuvarana munde* as *Jayasiṅgāḍu varana munde* and had wrongly understood *Āḷuvakhēḍa arusāsiradalu* as *Āḷuvakhēḍadavaru Sāsiradalu.* He then went on to translate, in a rather unintelligible vein, the entire text as follows :

> When Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Tribhuvanamalla Vishṇuvardhana Hoysaḷadēva was ruling the Gaṅgavāḍi Ninety-six-Thousand in peace and when Seṭṭi-gāvuṇḍa, who—on the Āḷuvakhēḍa people taking prisoners in the Thousand—in front of Jayasiṅgāḍu had fought in a battle with daggers and conqūered and coming, was holding the office of gāvuṇḍa in Kariviḍi-Hirūr—(on the date specified)–the Halikāra Nāyakas of Sīre-nāḍ coming and harrying the cows, fighting them, he slew many, recovered the cows and gained the world of gods.

This translation makes the Āḷupas the invaders and the so-called 'Thousand' division the victim of their aggression. Taking their cue from the above translation, Saletore, Coelho and Derrett have all gone astray in their narration of the Hoysaḷa-Āḷupa history of this period. Saletore, for instance, concluded that the Āḷupas invaded the Hoysaḷa territory, took prisoners in the Thousand and, in the battle which ensued, killed Seṭṭi-gāvuṇḍa who was at that time holding the office of

gāvuṇḍa in Kariviḍi-Hirūr.[1] Saletore thus lost sight of the fact that the Karaḍi inscription refers to two different battles, fought at different times, the earlier one in which Seṭṭi-gāvuṇḍa had triumphed against the Āḷupas and the later one of 1115 A.D., a cattle raid in repelling which he had lost his life.

Coelho rightly understood that there were two different battles but he merely quotes Rice's translation to the effect that the earlier battle had ensued on the Āḷuvakhēḍa people taking prisoners in the 'Thousand' in front of Jayasiṅgāḍu.[2]

Derrett goes one step further and identifies the 'Thousand' with the Sāntaḷige – 1000 division, the tiny kingdom of the Sāntaras of Pombuchcha. According to him, the presence of the Hoysaḷa army in and about Banavāse encouraged the Āḷupas of Āḷuvakhēḍa to invade Sāntaḷige – 1000, then partly under Hoysaḷa protection.

The above views are, to say the least, historically unsound and unsustainable. As a matter of fact, *Āḷuvakhēḍav—arusāsiradalu nigaḷav-ikki* means 'having pressed against (the territory of) Āḷuvakhēḍa – 6000 and *Jayasiṅg–Āḷuvarana munde surigegāḷagavaṁ kādi* means 'having fought a battle of daggers face to face with Jayasiṅga–Āḷuva'. Thus the correct import of the passage quoted will be as follows:

> While *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Tribhuvanamalla* Vishṇuvardhana Hoysaḷadēva was ruling in peace – Seṭṭi-gāvuṇḍa having pressed against Āḷuvakhēḍa – 6000 and having fought a battle of daggers face to face with Jayasiṅga-Āḷuva, he, having won, was holding the office of the *gāvuṇḍa* of Kariviḍi-Hirūru when (on the date specified) the Halikāṟa-nāyaka of Sīre-nāḍu forcibly took away cattle and Seṭṭi-gāmuṇḍa, himself fighting, killed many (of the raiders), recovered the cattle and (at the end) himself fell.

We thus see that the Āḷupas, who were considered as the aggressors by Rice, Saletore, Coelho and Derrett, were, in

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1. *History of Tuḷuva*, p. 270.
2. *Hoysaḷa Vaṁśa*, p. 80.

reality, the victims of a Hoysaḷa invasion, captained by Seṭṭi-gāmuṇḍa and that the Āḷupa ruler who had to face the invaders bore the name of Jayasiṅga-Āḷuva. He is to be identified with *Samasta-bhuvana-vikhyāta, Sōma-kula-tilaka, Pāṇḍya-Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara, Paramabhaṭṭāraka* Kumāra-Pāṇḍya-Jayasiṅgarasa figuring in the Kariyaṅgaḷa (Mangalore Taluk) inscription[1] palaeographically assignable to the second half of the 11th century A.D.

There is some reason to believe that the battle between Seṭṭi-gāmuṇḍa and Jayasiṅga-Āḷuva was fought a little before 1107 A.D. in which year the Hirahaḍagali (Bellary District) inscription[2] of Chālukya Vikramāditya VI describes Vishṇuvardhana as having conquered the Tuḷu country by the mere raising of his eyebrows (*Tuḷu-dēśaṁ . . . . . bhrū-bhaṅgadiṁ koṇḍu*).

Nearly a decade later, perhaps a little before 1117 A.D., Vishṇuvardhana carried out a second invasion of Āḷuvakhēḍa-6000, this time sending *mahāpraḍhāna, sēnādhipati, hiriyahaḍavaḷa* Bōkimayya, who is described as *Biṭṭidēva-garuḍa*, at the head of his army. Though this fact is known to us only from an inscription[3] of 1155 A.D., when Vishṇuvardhana was no longer alive, the invasion may be considered to have taken place a little before 1117 A.D. in view of the fact that some inscriptions[4] dated in that year eulogise Vishṇuvardhana as *utpāṭita-ghaṭṭa-kapāṭan* (the feller of the door leading below the ghats) and *Tuḷu-nṛipāḷa-hṛidaya-vidaḷana-raṇakēli* (he who burst the heart of the Tuḷu king in the game of war). That Vishṇuvardhana's invasions did not result in any loss of territory to the Āḷupas is borne out by the fact that Hoysaḷa inscriptions of the period continue to say that the Hoysaḷa kingdom was bounded on the west by Āḷuvakhēḍa or Bārakanūra-Ghaṭṭa.

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1. *SII.*, Vol. IX, Part I, No. 399.
2. *Ibid.*: No. 118.
3. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V, Hn. 69.
4. *Ibid.*: Bl. 58 and 71.

And then, for more than two hundred years the Hoysaḷas had neither the time nor the inclination to waste their military efforts in South Kanara. It was Vīra Ballāḷa III, who started his reign well only to literally lose his head in the end, who planted on the soil of the Tuḷu country, for the first time in its history, the seat of an imperial dynasty. The earliest encounter between the forces of Ballāḷa III and the Tuḷuvas is recorded in an inscription[1] from Hanagavāḍi, Shimoga District Written in 1310 A.D., it records the death of Saṅgiya-nāyaka in a battle he fought on behalf of his master Ballāḷa III against Basavadēva, the ruler of Chandāvara below the ghats. In the course of the battle, in which the Hoysaḷa campaign was masterminded by Sankaya-sāhaṇi, Saṅgiya-nāyaka is stated to have successfully routed the Tuḷuva forces before he himself was killed.

Hoyisaṇa-śrī—Vīra-Ballāḷarāyana hiriya-maneya-pradhāni Baicheya-daṇḍanāyakara mayduna Saṅkiya-sāhaṇiyaru Ghaṭṭada-keḷagaṇa Chandāvurada Basavadēvana mēle naḍadalli Chandāvuravanu kiḍisi . . . . . śriman— mahāsāvanta sāvant-ādhipati Saṅgiya-nāyakanu kāḷaga-dalli iridu baḷada kūḍe kādi Tuḷuvara keḍisi Vaikuṇṭha-lōka-vāsakke prāptan-ādanu

Chandāvara below the Ghats, which was under the rule of Basavadēva, in the same as modern Chandavar, Honavar Taluk, North Kanara District. Basavadēva was obviously an Āḷupa feudatory placed in charge of the meagre North Kanara possessions of the Āḷupas. Or else, the defeated army would not have been called *Tuḷuvara bala.* From two inscriptions written on a slab[2] found at Sirāli, North Kanara District, one[3] dated in 1304 A.D., and the other dated in 1331 A.D., we learn that the Āḷupa ruler who had to face the Hoysaḷa invasion of 1319 A.D. was Vīra Sōyidēva. The battle of

1. *Ibid.*: Vol. VII, Hl. 117.
2. *Karnāṭak Inscriptions*, Vol. III, Part I, No. 2.
3. Contra *Ibid.* : Where the Āḷupa prince's name has been wrongly read as Ajayidēva instead of Sōyidēva.

Chandāvara was most probably fought by Ballāḷa III as one in a chain of military expeditions meant to bolster up the prestige and power of the Hoysaḷa empire which had suffered a distinct setback as a result of Ballāḷa III's defeats at the hand of the Muslim invader Malik Kafur. Available epigraphical evidence makes it clear that the Āḷupas neither lost territory nor acknowledged Hoysaḷa suzerainty as a result of this battle.

But, within a decade and a half after the battle of Chandāvara, Ballāḷa III succeeded in overrunning parts of the Āḷupa kingdom, thus adversely affecting the political sovereignty of the Āḷupas, and his inscriptions begin to appear in South Kanara from March, 1333 A.D. side by side with those of other local rulers, including the Āḷupas. His Tuḷuva inscriptions make it clear that Ballāḷa III ruled over South Kanara by proxy, the Hoysaḷa throne at Bārahakanyāpura being occupied, on his behalf, by his queen Chikkāyi-Tāyi, who was perhaps a princess of the Āḷupa house. That she may have been an Āḷupa princess is only a conjecture which is not directly supported by available epigraphical evidence but which is rendered plausible by another conjecture that the Āḷupas, who were militarily not capable of repelling the Hoysaḷa invasion, may have tried to mitigate its adverse effects upon their own status by placating Ballāḷa III by offering the hand of an Āḷupa princess. Derrett accuses[1] Ballāḷa III, during his times the most powerful ruler in the South, of condescending to become one of the husbands of Chikkāyi Tāyi who, according to him, must have married again and again as permitted by the *aḷiya-santāna* or matriarchal law of succession. Unfortunately for Derrett, there is no clear evidence to show that the Āḷupas had followed the *Aḷiya-santāna* system of succession at any time during their existance as a royal family.[2]

In the Tuḷuva inscriptions of the Hoysaḷas, ranging in date from March, 1333 A.D. to January, 1342 A.D., Ballāḷa III is given all the characteristic Āḷupa titles and epithets, viz.,

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1. *The Hoysaḷas :* pp. 165–66.
2. K. V. Ramesh : *op. cit.*, p. 139.

Samasta-bhuvana-vikhyāta, Sōma-kula-tilaka, Pāṇḍya-Mahārājādhirāja, Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Pāṇḍya-chakravartti, Arirāya-basavaśaṅkara and Rāya-gaj-āṅkuśa. After he was most cruelly put to death sometime towards the close of 1342 A.D., we find that these very titles come to be attributed to his widow Chikkāyi Tāyi whom those Hoysaḷa inscriptions in South Kanara, which range in date from 1344 to 1348 A.D., mention as the ruling queen.

A point of interest here is the fact that of the 9 Hoysaḷa inscriptions so far discovered in South Kanara and belonging to the period 1333–48 A.D., seven hail from villages in the Udipi Taluk and one each from the Coondapur and Karkala Taluks while, of the six Āḷupa inscriptions belonging to the period 1335–46 A.D., five are from Udipi Taluk and one from Mangalore Taluk. On the strength of this evidence it may be stated in very general terms that while the Udipi region was common territory for both the Hoysaḷas and the Āḷupas, the southern parts of the rest of Tuḷuva remained under the influence of the Āḷupas, the northern parts falling within the sphere of Hoysaḷa influence. During this period parts of the Kārkaḷa region were being administered by the Sāntara Chief *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, Paṭṭi-Pombuchchapura-varādhīśvara, Ballāḷarāya-Chitta-Chamatkāra* Lōkanāthadēvarasa in his capacity as a Hoysaḷa feudatory.

While almost all the available Tuḷuva-Hoysaḷa inscriptions are donative records and therefore of little historical interest, one epigraph,[1] from Mūḍabidure, Karkala Taluk, written in 1342 A.D., deserves to be noticed since its contents imply that the Hoysaḷas were not very welcome in their newly acquired territory. This record is in the nature of prescribing punishments for people belonging to the different sections and strata of the community in case they take up arms and indulge in acts of violence. That the situation, which warranted the promulgation of this punitive act, was alarming enough is made clear by the fact that wide and influential sections of the town's

1. *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 213.

population identified themselves with the letter and spirit of this inscription (*Hariyappa daṇṇāyakaruṁ . . . . . Mādaḍaharuṁ atikāri-Dēvati-Āḷuvaruṁ Sālikeya aruvaru ballāḷugaḷuṁ aivaru horahinavaruṁ Bidireya nagaradalu ēṇṭu-mandi seṭṭikārarum nālvaru eḷamegaḷuṁ aśēsha holāradhavaruṁ eraḍu-kōḷa-ballyuṁ nāḍuṁ nakaramuṁ tammoḷ-ēkasthar-āgi māḍida śāsanakrama*). In the above list of officials, guilds and associations, the first mentioned viz., Hariyappa-daṇṇāyaka was obviously an army officer of the Hoysaḷas. That the Hoysaḷas had stationed a chunk of their army in South Kanara in order to facilitate their presence there as an effective administrative authority is borne out by the evidence of the Āladahaḷḷi (Hassan District) inscription of April, 1338 A.D. according to which Ballāḷa III had, at that time, just completed a visit to his military establishments at Bārakūru (*Ballāḷadēvaru Bārakūra-daṇḍiṅge bijayaṁ geydu*).

We have no means of determining whether a show of force on the part of Vijayanagara was necessary for the annexation of Tuḷuva early in 1345 A.D. While, from the inscriptions of the period available in South Kanara itself, we gather that both the Āḷupa and Hoysaḷa rulers were outside the pale of Vijayanagara imperialism within that region, the Śṛiṅgēri (Chikmagalur District) inscription[1] of March, 1346 A.D. leads us to believe that Chikkāyi Tāyi had, in some way or the other, acquisced in Vijayanagara overlordship at least in so far as her possessions outside the bounds of South Kanara were concerned. This epigraph, referring itself to the reign of Harihara I, after recording gifts to Bhāratī-tīrtha-śrīpāda and his disciples, also records the gift of some villages in Sāntaḷige-nāḍu to the *parichārakas* of the same ascetic by *Pāṇḍya-Chakravartti, Arirāya—basava-śaṅkara, Rāya-gaj-āṅkuśa* Vīra-Kikkāyi Tāyi.

Chikkāyi Tāyi is stated in two inscriptions, one[2] dated in 1344 A.D. and the other[3] dated in 1348 A.D. to have had a son named Kulaśēkhara. There is no reason to identify this

1. *Ep.Carn.*, Vol. VI, Sg. 1.
2. *A.R.Ep.*, 1931–32, No. 240.
3. *Ibid.* : 1930–31, No. 360.

Hoysaḷa prince, who does not appear ever to have ruled, either with Āḷupa Kulaśēkhara II, who ruled during 1335–46 A.D. or with Āḷupa Kulaśēkhara III, who ruled during 1355–90 A.D.

I would like to make here a few general observations pertinent to Hoysaḷa rule over South Kanara. In the field of administration, *Mahāpradhāna* Vayijappa-daṇṇāyaka and Ajaṇṇasāhaṇi, both of whom find mention in the Hoysaḷa inscriptions of South Kanara during 1333–36 A.D., must have greatly helped in the initial years of Hoysaḷa rule over the Tuḷu country. The Hoysaḷas not only fostered native guilds and associations but also introduced into South Kanara new ones like the *nāḍu*, *ubhaya-nānādēśi* and *ballāḷugaḷu* thereby, no doubt, adding new dimensions to the administrative, economic and social life of the Tuḷuvas. In the religious sphere, it was after the advent of Hoysaḷa authority that Jainism received considerable royal patronage in South Kanara. Though Chikkāyi Tāyi herself was a Śaivite, the Hoysaḷa feudatory Lōkanāthadēvarasa was a Jaina and the process which before long culminated in the development of Kārkaḷa, Vēṇūr, Mūḍabidure and Keravase into great centres of Jainism was initiated during this brief period of Hoysaḷa occupation.

THE HOYSALAS AND SOUTH KANARA DISTRICT

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THE EMERGENCE OF the Hoysaḷas as an imperial power was responsible for bringing about many political changes in the coastal district of South Kanara on the western side of the Western Ghats. Originally, the Hoysaḷas had been ruling over a small principality in the Ghat region, from Angadi in Mudugere taluka, and they became prominent by defeating the various Male Chieftains in the region, assuming the title "Maleparolganda". Many petty Jaina Chieftains ruling in the Malenāḍ were forced to leave the Ghat region and seek shelter in the coastal strip. Thus many a petty Jaina Prince raised their heads in South Kanara during the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, encroaching upon the authority of the Āḷupas, the native ruling dynasty.

Of the vairous Jaina Princes ruling in South Kanara, at least three families definitely migrated to Tuḷuva from across the Ghats. The Bangas of Bangady (a place in present Belthangady Taluka) are described as coming from Gangavāḍi in the manuscripts describing their history, quoted by Ganapathi Rao Aigal in his Kannada book on the history of South Kanara. The account says that the family was displaced from its original home by Hoysaḷa Vishṇuvardhana. The family must have been ruling from Melbangady, a place in Mudugere taluka, from where it must have emigrated to its new capital, Bangadi in Belthangady taluka. Similarly the Ajilas of Yenur (present Venur in Belthangady taluka) called themselves as belonging to "Chamundanwaya", in an inscription,[2] and their 'Kaiphiyats' as quoted by Govinda Pai say that

1. Aigal, G.: *Dakshina Kannada Jilleya Pracheena Itihasa*, Mangalore, 1923, pp. 263–64.

2. *Epigraphia Indica*, VII, p. 113.

they were related to Chāvuṇḍarāya of Gangavāḍi[1] (perhaps the Ganga Minister, Chāvuṇḍarāya). The Santara rulers of Karkala, who came to rule in Tuḷuva during the fourteenth century, had Kaḷasa in Mudugere taluka as their capital.

Apart from this, the Hoysaḷas appear to have collided with Āḷupas of Tuḷuva or Alvakheda (as South Kanara was then called). Numerous inscriptions of the Hoysaḷa Kings indicate these skirmishes. Some inscriptions even claim that the Hoysaḷas had subdued Tuḷuva and some others say that they even were ruling over Tuḷuva.

An inscription of Vinayāditya says that his Kingdom included Konkana and Alvakheda.[2] In the days of Vishṇuvardhana, it is stated that Tuḷu country was taken "with a frown" in some inscriptions[3] or that the King subjected Male and Tuḷu country in some others.[4] But some records call Alvakheda as the boundary of his kingdom or that Bārakūru Ghatta (parts of Western Ghats) was the limit.[5] Similar accounts of invasion or subjection of Tuḷuva are found in the days of Narasiṁha I also. Narasiṁha had called himself the "Submarine fire to the ocean of Tuḷuva army" in many inscriptions.[6] An inscription dated 1155 even stated that Narasiṁha's General Bokana or Bokimayya was responsible for the subjection of Tuḷuva.[7] An account of the Banga family and the former existence of a place called Narasiṁha Angady near Jamalabad Fort in Belthangady taluka justify this claim of Narasiṁha having led a campaign into Tuḷuva. The Banga family accounts say that the family had been displaced from its original home by Vishṇuvardhana and the family came to Bangady. Hoysaḷa Narasiṁha is said to have taken pity on the

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1. M. Govinda Pai: *Venur and Gomata Colossus, Antaranga* (29-1-1937).
2. *Epigraphia Carnatica,* VI, Cm. 160.
3. *Ibid.*: V, Ak. 138; IV, Hs. 137.
4. *Ibid.*: V, Bl. 124.
5. *Ibid.*: V, Hn, 116; Ak. 55; VI, Mg. 21.
6. E.C., V, Ak. 172; 138; II, 137 A; XII, Tp. 66.
7. *Ibid.*

orphaned prince of the family, and had him crowned as the chieftain over an area of 13 'maganes'. The prince was also given the name 'Vīra Narasiṁha' by the King. The episode is assigned to Śaka 1079 (A.D. 1157).[1]

That the Vaishṇava name Vīra Narasiṁha is often repeated in the geneaology of the Jaina-Shaiva family of the Bangas, that the date assigned here is in agreement with the Hoysaḷa ruler's date, and that Narasiṁha Angady, supposed to have been founded by Narasiṁha is in the vicinity of Bangady[2] help to substantiate this account.

Ballāḷa II too appears to have had fights against Alvakheda. A record of 1178 describes him as having covered up the mountains of Alvakheda with smoke,[3] and another of 1173 states Tuḷuva ran for his life after a war with Ballāḷa II.[4] But the records of Narasiṁha II say that Alvakheda was the western boundary of his kingdom. Somēswara had perhaps little time to pay attention towards the West while had concentrated his attention on the East. But it was during the latter part of the rule of Narasiṁha III that a serious attempt was made by the Hoysaḷas to bring Tuḷuva under their rule. Till that time Tuḷuva was not a part of their empire. No inscriptions of the Hoysaḷas indicating their rule have been found in Tuḷuva, though they are numerous across the ghats. All references of rule over Tuḷuva quoted above have to be interpreted as the Hoysaḷas having defeated the Tuḷuva rulers or their having collected tribute from them.

Two inscriptions from Tuḷuva, make it clear that Tuḷuva became a province of the Hoysaḷa empire in the days of Narasiṁha III, and Crown Prince Balla was his Governor in Tuḷuva. One of those inscriptions is from Mudabidiri dated 1281, when Ballaḷa is stated to have established a "Dharmada Kallu" (Edict of Righteousness) in the presence of the elders and

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1. Aigal, G. : *op.cit.*, p. 263–4.
2. Buchanan, Francis : *A Journey*, III, p. 68.
3. *E.C.*, V, Cn. 220.
4. *E.C.*, IV, Ng. 30.

leading citizens of the place.[1] A second record is from Sirali in North Kanara dated 1278, where Ballāḷa is called "Mahāmaṇḍalēshwara" and "Kumāra".[2]

Ballāḷa III, after coming to the throne, appears to have taken active interest in the affairs of Tuḷuva. Inscriptions describe numerous campaigns of Ballāḷa III in Tuḷuva, especially in North Kanara. He appears to have invaded the territory of the Chandavara Kadambas in 1300,[3] fought a battle at Sirise in 1303 against the same family[4] and even destroyed Chandavūru in 1319.[5]

In South Kanara proper, Ballāḷa married a princess of Āḷupa family Krishnayitayi, perhaps a sister of Soyideva Āḷupa and later had his own son, Kulashēkhara by that Queen,[6] crowned as the Āḷupa King.

Aḷiya santāna or succession through the female line, was becoming popular in Tuḷuva during the period. Soyideva, the Āḷupa ruler had a senior nephew ('aliya'), Bankideva. He must have been the lawful claimant to the throne of Āḷupas, and he has been mentioned prominently in the Bārakūru record of Soyidēva dated 1316.[7] Soyidēva's last record is of 1335.[8] The first record of Kulashēkhara is of 1339.[9] Soyidēva appears to have died between these two days, and Ballāḷa personally visited Tuḷuva in 1338, perhaps enthroned his own son Kulashēkhara on the Āḷupa throne at Bārakūru, setting aside the claims of rivals like Bankidēva, and stationed Ankeya Nāyaka, one of his commanders at Bārakūru.[10] Kulashēkhara continued to rule till 1346, as indicated by the Shirali record

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1. *ARSIE*, 43 of 1901 ; *SII.* ; VII, 213.
2. *Karnataka Inscriptions*, II, 31 of 1940–41.
3. E.C., VIII, Sa. 45.
4. *Ibid.* : Sa., 101.
5. *Ibid.* : VII, Hl, 117.
6. *ARSIE*, 240 of 1931–32.
7. *Ibid.* : 151 of 1901 ; *SII.*, VII, 354.
8. *Ibid.* : 461 of 1928–9.
9. *Ibid.* : 596 of 1929–30.
10. *E.C.*, V, Ak. 183.

of that date.[1] Ballāḷa's visit to Tuḷuva is supported by another record of Kantavar, again dated 1338.[2]

Ballāḷa Queen Krishnayi or Kikkayi Tayi stayed in Tuḷuva, following the custom of partly matriarchal 'Aḷiya Santana Kattu' (A married woman stays with her parents even after marriage, and her husband visits her house regularly or occasionally, according to the custom). Nine inscriptions of the lady, ranging between 1333 and 1348 are found in Tuḷuva. She had assumed the titles of the Hoysaḷa family, and she played a prominent part in the affairs of Tuḷuva as indicated by the records. She is accompanied by two officials called Vaijappa Daṇṇāyaka and Ajana Sahani in a majority of these records.[3] That the queen was instrumental in bringing about the reconciliation between the followers of the Hoysaḷas and the Sangama Brothers of Vijayanagar is proved by the Śringēri record of 1346.[4] What Ballāḷa III must have accomplished by his campaign of 1338 was getting his son crowned, and thus having a line loyal to the Hoysaḷas established in Tuḷuva.

But records of the Queen are to be found only in northern parts of South Kanara, being limited to Karkala, Udipi and Kundapur talukas, and southern parts of the district, areas in the present Mangalore, Puttur, Bantwal, and Belthangady talukas and in the Kasaragode region, were perhaps, not subjected to the Hoysaḷas. My surmise is that there must have been a rival Āḷupa family, ruling from Mangalore at that time.

The Hoysaḷa rule caused the emergence of many petty royal families in Tuḷuva. The tottering power of the Āḷupas which had ruled in the region for more than a millienium, was

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1. *K.I.*, III, pt. I, 47 of 1940–41.
2. *ARSIE*, 57A of 1901 ; *SII.*, VII, 232.
3. Krishnayi's records in Tuḷuva are :
   1333–492 of 1928–29 ; 1334–493 of 1928–29 ;
   1335–583 of 1929–30 ; 1336–122 of 1901 ;
   K.I., 45 of 1940–41 ; 46 of 1940–41 ;
   1344–24 of 1931–32 ; 1345–496 of 1928–29 ;
   1348–360 of 1930–31.
4. *E.C.*, VI, Sg. 1.

given a longer lease of life and greater prestige by their alliance with the Hoysaḷas. But with the vanishing of the Hoysaḷas, the Āḷūpas too did not last for long. The political map of South Kanara became somewhat Kelidoscopic in character, often changing due to the frequent internal fights and skirmishes between the petty princes. Vijayanagara had to continue an incessant war against these revolting princes during the succeeding centuries.

HOYSAḶA INFLUENCE IN ANDHRA DESA

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I

THE HOYSALAS WERE a great power in medieval Deccan and South India, coming chronologically in between the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāni and the Rāyas of Vijayanagar. Contemporaneous with the Yādavas, the Kākatīyas, and the Pāndyas, the Hoysaḷas, in the early stages of their policy of political expansion, came to loggerheads with the Chālukya-Chōḷas and their loyal supporters, namely the Telugu Chōḷas of Nellore and Hemavati in Āndhradēśa; whereas during the later stages they had conflicts with the Kākatīyas. Finally the role of the Hoysaḷas in obstructing the spread of Muslim power to the south of the Vindhyas is memorable. The western part of Āndhradēśa, that is, Rayalasima, had come under the Hoysaḷa influence during the 12th, the 13th and the 14th centuries.

II

Of the several minor dynasties in Āndhradēśa in medieval period the Velanāḍu Chōḷas and the Telugu Chōḷas were powerful, the former in the northern and coastal area and the latter in the western and southern territory. The Telugu Chōḷas of Nellore (A.D. 1100–1350) was the predominant of the several Telugu Chōḷa dynasties eg., Pattapi, Eruva, Kandur and Hemavati. The dynasty consisted of a dozen rulers and at times their power expanded, not only over major part of Āndhradēśa, but beyond into the Hoysaḷa, Telugu Pallava and Chōḷa kingdoms. Nominally subordinate to the Chōḷas in the early life and the Kākatīya during later stages, but practically independent, these Chōḷas of Nellore had a significant role in the political history of South India.[1]

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1. V. Yasoda Devi: The History of Andhra Country (1000–1500): Subsidiary Dynasties. —J.A.H.R.S., Vol. 23, p. 68.

Tikka I (A.D. 1209–1248), son of Manumasiddha II (A.D. 1198–1210) succeeded Tammusiddha (A.D. 1205–1209) on the throne. The most powerful of the Nellore Chōḷas, Tikka I also known as Tirukalatti and Gandagopala, whose significant military exploits attest his manifold capacities as a warrior and administrator, had a reign of forty years. He had his own coinage and the coins Gandagopala madai and Gandagopala pudumadai are known from inscriptions.[1]

Narasiṁha II (till 1238–39 A.D.), and Vīrasōmeśvara (A.D. 1234–35–53), the Hoysaḷa emperors were contemporaneous with Tikka Gandagopala. Tikka came into conflict with them siding the Chōḷas, on account of the differences between the Chōḷas and the Hoysaḷas on their Pāndyan policy[2] and won some victories over them. Tikka's first expedition into the Hoysaḷa territory was undertaken and accomplished by A.D. 1231 the date of his occupation of Kāñchi. For in his record at title Conjeevaram[3] of the reign of Rājarāja III (dated A.D. 1231 and the 15th regnal year). Tikka Gandagopala is described as " Cataclysmic fire to the ocean, i.e., Kalyāṇapuri (the capital of the Chālukyas) and the supreme lord of Vikramasiṁhapuri (i.e., Nellore)." This speaks for the primacy of Kalyāni in this period and the victory enhanced the prestige and power of Tikka I.

Encouraged by this success, Tikka I, in A.D. 1239 after an interval of eight years, led another expedition against the Hoysaḷas, which proved more fateful in its results. A record[4] from Jambai (South Arcot District) with date A.D. 1239 and 23rd year of Rājarāja III, says that in Chittirai of that year Nayanar Gandagopalar was pleased to go out (for fight), having stabbed Vallaladēvan, proceeded to (?) Senbai. The inscription stops there abruptly. The fight was a victory for the Telugu Chōḷas,

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1. S.I.I., VII, 506; A.R. 1919, 207; Journal of Numismatic Society of India (Benaras), Vol. 30 (1968). 16. V. Yasoda Devi: Coin Terms in Andhradesa Inscriptions.
2. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri: The Cōḷas, II–I, p. 200.
3. 446 of 1919; A.R. 1920, para 55.
4. 439 of 1937; A.R. 1938, II, para 42; S.I.I., XII, App. D, p. 80.

as the events of the expedition show – the killing of the Hoysaḷa ruler. Vallaladēva, the victim of Tikka was Narasiṁha II Vallaladēva, the suffix Vallala has been generally applied to Hoysaḷa rulers in general, after the glorious Ballāḷa II. So Tikka Gandagopala invaded the Hoysaḷa kingdom, was opposed by the enemy under king Narasiṁha, who was killed in battle, that followed. The site of the battle is not known. Then Tikka proceeded to Jambai, where he must have won further victories not mentioned in the record. This expedition of Tikka brought on its heels the Hoysaḷa expedition on the Telugu Chōḷa kingdom.[1]

In August 1240, Somēśvara, son and successor of Narasiṁha II led an expedition against Tikka as seen from Hoysaḷa inscriptions in the Mysore State, the immediate cause being obviously the fall of his father in the hands of Tikka. Contemporary literature and inscriptions prove that Tikka was victorious in this defensive war, vanquished Somēśvara and the Hoysaḷa armies. Tikkana Somayaji says[2] that Tikka defeated Karnāṭaka Somēśa i.e., Hoysaḷa Vīrasomēśvara, Ketana,[3] another poet mentions that Tikka ended the pride of the king of Karnata i.e., Somēśvara. In withstanding the Hoysaḷa king, Tikka was also fighting on behalf of Rājarāja III and Rājendra III whose enemy Somēśvara was. The Nandalur inscription[4] dated A.D. 1257 records that king Tikka of Nellore captured Kāñchi and defeated Somēśvara at Champapuri i.e., Jambai or Senbai of records of an earlier date in Tamil. The identification of Somēśvara with Somēśvara IV[5] of the Chālukyas of Kalyāni is untenable on chronological grounds. The Nandalur inscription thus supplies the place of battle between Somēśvara and Tikka. The Hoysaḷa expedition into the Telugu Chōḷa kingdom was a failure. Lakumaya who

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1. E.C., VI, Kd. 100 ; S.I.I., XII, App. D, p. 180.
2. Nirvachanottara Ramayana I, V. 34.
3. Dasakumara Charitra, IV, pp. 16–24.
4. 580 of 1907 ; A.R. 1908, p. 71.
5. K. Viresalingam : Lives of Telugu Poets, I, p. 112.

invaded Kuruhalur and in the ensuing battle whose horses were captured by Tikka[1] was possibly a Hoysaḷa General.

Tikka, thus played a very prominent part in the Chōḷa Hoysaḷa struggle and carried on his activities over the extensive area from the Godavari to the southern Pennar.[2] He reinstalled Rājarāja III in his place and assumed the title Chōḷasthāpanāchārya.[3] In these wars Appaya Daṇḍanāyaka and his son Samudra Gōpaya Daṇḍanayaka, the two able Generals who at the instance of Narasiṁha II released Rājarāja III (A.D. 1216–1257) from prison at Sendamangalam under the control of Kadava Kopperunjingadēva and restored him to his throne.[4] They had an active role on the Hoysaḷa side, whereas the ancestors of the Reddis of Konḍavīḍu, in the service of Tikka I also participated in these campaigns, defeated the two Generals and appropriated their titles, besides assuming titles implying their victories over them. Appaya and Gopaya were rewarded with the grant of a village (A.D. 1233)[5] by Narasiṁha II for their exploits over Kopperunjinga. Gopaya bore the titles Daṇḍinagōpa, after his paternal uncle Mahāpradhāni Dandinagōpa, and Jagadobbagaṇḍa (i.e., the sole hero of the world), as seen from his record, at Conjeevaram dated in the 15th year of Rājarāja III (A.D. 1231).[6] The Generals continued in the service of Somēśvara. The Reddi titles are Appaya Gōppaya diśāpaṭṭa, jaganobbagaṇḍa, and Daṇḍenagōva, first occuring in the Chimakurti copper plate grant of A.D. 1335, and later records

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1. J.A.H.R.S., Vol. 23, p. 90.
2. Nellore Gazetteer, p. 94.
3. Tikkana : Nirvachanottara Ramayana I, V. 34 ; Ketana : Dasakumaracharitra ; M. S. Sarma : The History of the Reddi Kingdoms (1948), Waltair, p. 61.
4. Tiruvendipuram record (A.D. 1231) and 15th year of Rajaraja III E.I., VII, pp. 160 ff ; epigraph (A.D. 1233) in Gubbi Taluk (Tumkur District) ; E.C., XII, Gb. 45 ; record at Conjeevaram (A.D. 1231) and 15th year of Rājarāja III – 404 of 1919.
5. E.C., XII, Gb. 45.
6. 404 of 1919 ; 617 of 1919 ; 404, 611, 612, 615 of 1919 — all at Conjeevaram.

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and literature.[1] Appayagopagadisapatta suggests Reddi victory over Appaya and Gopaya, two individuals, or Gopaya, son of Appaya. In A.D. 1240, Gopaya Dandanayaka was at Kāñchi[2] and gifted a lamp to Arulala Perumal Temple at Kāñchi in the 24th year of Rājarāja III, thus acknowledging Chōḷa supremacy. Possibly about this time the Reddi Generals of Tikka Gandagopala defeated the Hoysaḷa general and assumed their titles, as proud privilege of the victor, according to the custom of the age. Thus, the Hoysaḷa titles travelled to the coastal Āndhradēśa, and were treasured, by the Reddis of Koṇḍavīḍu (in the 14th and the 15th centuries) in their records and literature as the rich heritage from their valient fore fathers, the conquerors of the Generals of Narasiṁha II and Vīrasomēśvara.

III

The Hoysaḷa domination in Rayalasima is seen from a series of records since the time of Ballāḷa II to the close of the age of Ballāḷa III, the last great ruler of the dynasty. That part of Rayalasima, now covered by Chittoor and Anantapur Districts, loyal to the Chālukyachōḷas had to submit to the Chālukyas of Kalyāni and subsequently to the Hoysaḷas by force of circumstances. Vishṇuvardhana I (1108–1142), the successor of Ballāḷa I (A.D. 1102-1108) had a reign of thirty-four years, a period of great military activity "with schemes for enlargement of Hoysaḷa dominions,"[3] which were promoted. The period falls into two divisions — (1) from 1108 - 1128, the most attractive period of Hoysaḷa expansion. (2) from 1128 - 1142 driving hard fighting fiercely to retain his new conquests. During the first period, victorious over the Chōḷas, having taken Talakad from them he proceeded to Kāñchi, having taken on the way Kolar and Nangali, and also probably Koyattur, 15 miles north-east of Nangali, identified with Laḍḍigam (Chittore District). Between Nangali and Koyattur,

1. E.I., XXI, pp. 267–273; V. Yasoda Devi: The Reddis of Kondavidu and Rajamundry (M 5), Appendix.
2. 615 of 1919.
3. J. Duncan M. Derrett: The Hoysaḷas (1957), p. 44.

he probably defeated the forces led by the chiefs of the Lāḍa family which had been ruling for half a century previously independently the region including and stretching eastwards from Punganur. Subsequent Hoysaḷa inscriptions refer to them under the name "Lāḷa". Vishṇuvardhana claims to have captured Teriyur, between the Pinakini and its tributory Jayamangali about 4½ miles from Hindupur during his campaign of A. D. 1117 against the Telugu Chōḷas of Henjeru[1] (Hemavati).

After Vishṇuvardhana returned from his southern campaign from Kāñchi upto Ramēśvaram, he took to subjugation of the Chōḷa ruler of Henjeru and Niḍugal. Irumgola Chōḷa, with his territories lying mainly between the rivers Vēdāvati and Pinākini and he drew his revenue from the lands dependent on the watersheds of these two rivers, now under Hoysaḷa control. Through his territories, the Sirenāḍ Nayakas had invaded the Hoysaḷanāḍ three years earlier; "despite his Chōḷa name, he was an adherent of Chālukyas", and he had an interest in thwarting Hoysaḷa schemes. Vishṇuvardhana had to march to Henjeru, 95 miles to the north-west of Kolar, through the territories newly added to his kingdom, and he took on the way the town of Sadali. If Irumgola opposed him in the battle field, he rapidly put them to flight and took Budali, Roddam and Vallur, and Tereyur, either on march to Roddam, or on the route back to Talakad. Vishṇuvardhana assumed the title – "scatterer of Henjeru, grim elephant, in breaking down the plantain garden, the spears of Irumgola and trampler upon Roddam.[2] Būḍali was a prize of some importance and Roddam, the second town in the kingdom and a bright jewel in the Chōḷa's crown fell with considerable effect. Irumgola submitted and thus saved his territory to the west of the Pinakini from being ravaged. As he continued to be feudatory of the Chālukya, probably he was left in peace in return for an indemnity. His descendents continued hostility towards the Hoysaḷas and friendship with the Chālukyas. In A.D. 1131,

1. J. Duncan M. Derrett: The Hoysaḷas (1957), p. 51.
2. J. Duncan M. Derrett: The Hoysaḷas (1957), p. 53.

Vishṇuvardhana called himself the destroyer of the ghats and Roddam.[1]

Narasiṁha I's (A.D. 1142–1162) thirty years of rule, was a period of "feebleness, inadequacy and failure" and most inglorious in Hoysaḷa annals. In A.D. 1146 and 1147 cow-harrying occurred and Govideva of Huliyeru on behalf of the Hoysaḷas fought against a foe, possibly a Chōḷa of Henjeru, against whom a Hoysaḷa force was sent in A.D. 1149 and with whom he seems to have contracted a marriage alliance by A.D. 1160. Narasiṁha claims to have conferred several countries of which Magadha and Lāḷa refer to the close neighbours and colleagues, the effete dynasties known as Bāṇa and Lāḍa.[2] As Narasiṁha's achievements were almost entirely negative in character, the reign of his son and successor stands out in striking contrast. His reign was an introduction and provocation to the dramatic revival under Ballāḷa II. Ballāḷa II (1173–1218) is outstanding among the Hoysaḷa kings in several respects."

Several Hoysaḷa records show that Ballāḷa II came into conflict with the Telugu Chōlas of Hemavati. A record dated A.D. 1177 at Huliyeru shows that the Chōḷa had to be fought at some distance from his capital. The inscription[3] at Parigi (Hindupur Taluk), at a distance of 13 miles from Roddam, dated December 1178, shows that the authority of Ballāḷa II was firmly established in the country of Chōḷa Mallidēva. Ballāḷa's records (about A.D. 1180) said that Ballāḷa satisfied himself by accepting the submission of the Chōḷa who had been ruling since the death of Irumgola, "the elongated kingdom which had Henjeru as the capital and Nidugal as the chief fortress."[4] For in December 1179, Mallideva Chōḷa inspite of his recent defeat in the hands of Candugi, and allegiance to the Hoysaḷa, recognised the supremancy of the Chālukya emperor. In A.D. 1181, the Hoysaḷa king made a show of force to discourage Chōḷa adherents on the

1. J. Duncan M. Derrett : The Hoysaḷas (1957), p. 63.
2. J. Duncan M. Derrett : The Hoysaḷas (1957), p. 74.
3. S.I.I., IX, 318.
4. S.I.I., IX, 359 ; 729 of 1917.

edge and below the Ghats. Between A.D. 1181 and 1189, along with several ruling families the Chōḷas of Henjeru became insubordinate to Chālukya Somēśvara IV. In 1192 Ballāḷa II in his eastward campaign subdued Haluva i.e., Halvi (in Adoni Tq.) 2 miles to the south of the Tuṅgabhadra and Manuve (i.e., Manvi, 5 miles to the north of the river in Raichur district), and Devadurge, 8 miles to the south of the Krishna, and if so, located in the kingdom of the Henjeru Chōḷas.[1] Manuve and Haluve possessed hill forts, protected on both sides of the Tuṅgabhadra, the fertile lands between that river and the Hagari, and these were the outposts of the Kuntala country in the east, for the frontier with Telingana has its south-west extremity there and so that region has double significance. For Viṭhalabhūnātha, a General of Pratāparudra claimed to have taken Ādavāni, Tumbuḷam (due north of Adoni), Manuva and Haluva. Possibly Ballala II had entered Tumbulam, at a short distance from Haluva, to suppress of Jaitegi Sēvuṇa who attempted to take it as seen from a record there. In A.D. 1218, the Chōḷa took efforts to protect his dominions from a possible attack by Isvaradeva Sinda of Belugutti and exclude the Hoysaḷa. Ballāḷa visited him at Nidugal (1218). He fortified Nidugal, connected it with Hāne and occupied some villages previously lost to Ballāḷa II. The fortifications remained untouched till when in A.D. 1276 Irumgola by his conduct forced the Hoysaḷa to crush the Chōḷa family. Then they came under Sēvuna rule, for there is a gap in the Chōḷa inscriptions between A.D. 1218 and 1248 and Yādava Simhana bore the title "scatterer of the Chōḷa king." In the reign of Narasiṁha II (A.D. 1218–1235), the Hoysaḷa activity was against the Telugu Chōḷas of Nellore, dealt with already. Somēśvara (A.D. 1236–1247) son and successor of Narasiṁha II, continued the war with Tikka I of Nellore. His reign was tragic for he had occasions of self congratulation and bitter humiliations. In the reign of Rāmanātha (A.D. 1257–1295) there was a civil war between him and Narasiṁha III. In the latter part of the reign,

1. L. Duncan M. Derrett : The Hoysaḷas, p. 93.

Rāmanātha's rule was confined to the region corresponding to central and southern parts of Kolar district and northern and eastern portions of Bangalore district. There is one exception at Punganur[1] (Chittoore District) 10 miles from Nangali dated in the 38th year (A.D. 1295) of Vīrarāmanāthadēva, the Hoysaḷa king. It mentions Vamanavanan Kuttapperumal, probably a Bana chieftain of the area. Ballāḷa III (A.D. 1291–1342), at the age of twenty-eight inherited a weak empire, and his reign, the longest of the reigns of the dynasty, and he for all purposes is the last of the line. "His youth, middle age senility and death epitomise in a remarkable way the last efforts and collapse of the Hoysaḷa dynasty."[2] Ballāḷa reunited the kingdom (A.D. 1301–1303) and came into conflict with Kampiladēva by A.D. 1320, defeated him, proceeded to Doravadi, 10 miles south of Kampili, and to keep a close watch on the north-east, he occupied Penugonda, and there in September 1320, his son-in-law or sister's son Mācheya Dannayaka ruled there on his behalf. As Penugonda is a few miles to the east of Roddam, possibly Ballāḷa eclipsed the power of the Chōḷa of Nidugal, the enemy of the Hoysaḷas for many years. This Hoysaḷa outpost at Penugonda aroused the jealousy of some local chiefs who were giving trouble, to Mācheya Nāyaka from time to time. There is a record[3] (A.D. 1321) of Ballāḷa III at Sirivaram (Hindupur Taluk). Earlier, his record[4] (A.D. 1316) at Āluḍi (in Madakasira Taluk). Another record[5] (A.D. 1323) at Taunepalle (Hindupur Taluk) of reign of Vīraballāḷa III mentions *Mahapradāna* Aḷiya Mācheya Dannāyaka making a gift of land in Maḍuvukunṭayahalli in Ramaḍināḍu. In A.D. 1324 Macheya was involved in difficulties, but was victorious in battle for an epigraph[6] at Sirivaram (A.D. 1324) records his victory over Rācheya Nāyaka of Tunbeyakallu, obviously a

1. 210 of 1931–32.
2. J. Duncan M. Derrett: The Hoysalas, p. 143.
3. S.I.I., X, 354.
4. S.I.I., X, 353.
5. S.I.I., X, 355.
6. S.I.I., X, 356.

local chieftain, and the death of Ajapa, the son of Dhimgoḍa of Sirivara in the fight. Macheya continued to rule at Penugonda till A.D. 1328, for a record[1] of that year at Kōḍigepalle (Hindupur Taluk) mentions him as Mahāpradhāna Macheya Dannayaka, ruling at the Nelavīḍu of Penugonda, and making gift of village Bengaru to Nāgeya Gauda, a chieftain.

Macheya Daṇṇayaka was succeeded by Isvara Daṇṇāyaka at Penugonda for in a record[2] (A.D. 1340) at Sanjīvarayanipalle (Hindupur Taluk) of Ballāḷa III, mentions Isvara making the gift of the village Valagala Kumteyahalli to Gopa Gavunda, son of Chavaka Bamma Gavunḍa. By A.D. 1349 Gangidēva Daṇṇayaka, son of Aliya Macheya Daṇṇayaka, was ruling at Penugonda, as seen from a record[3] at Sanganapalle (Hindupur Taluk). In Niḍugallurajya, Gangeya Nāyaka of Holakal was ruling in A.D. 1340 as seen from a record[4] of Ballāḷa III at Kumdurpi (Kalyanadurga Taluk) and his son Chikka Bammayanāyaka excavated a tank called Hampeyadona in Kundurpe. The Serajammanahalli record[5] (Madakasira Taluk) of the reign of Ballāḷa III (undated) mentions the gift of various communities in Madhuvadi in Niḍugallunāḍu. A general Dāma making a gift to a temple at Henjeru, in Sirunāḍu, in the reign of Vīra Ballāḷa III is mentioned in a record at Hemavati[6] (Madakasira Taluk).

IV

Thus, we see, the Hoysaḷas in hostile relations with several petty dynasties in estern Andhra country since the time of Vishṇuvardhana I in their policy of expansion and imposition of their suzerainty over them e.g., The Telugu Chōḷas of Hemavati whose records[7] are found in large numbers at Kanakaṇḍla,

1. S.I.I., X, 357.
2. S.I.I., X, 358.
3. 791 of 1917.
4. S.I.I., IX, 359.
5. 729 of 1917.
6. S.I.I., VI, 588 : 122 of 1899.
7. J.A.H.R.S., 24, p. 59.

Eradukera, Kambadura, etc. in Anantapur district. Their conflicts with the Telugu Chōḷas of Nellore in the coastal Andhra area started from the time of Narasiṁha II and continued till the reign of Ballāḷa III. Hoysaḷa hold on the Chōḷas of Hemavati is some what realistic and in the reign of Ballāḷa III Penugonda was the headquarters of a Hoysaḷa viceroyalty with control over the Henjeru Chōḷas.

HOYSAḶAS IN KĀÑCHI

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THE REIGNS OF the Chōḷa Kings Rājarāja III (A.D. 1216–1246) and Rājēndra III (A.D. 1247–1279) represent the last phase of the Chōḷa power in the Tamil country. Their central authority was openly defied and finally overthrown by the subordinate vassals as well as the newly rising Pāṇḍyan power. This period also witnessed the active interference of the Hoysaḷas who tried to use the internal dissensions to their advantage. The Kākatiyas of Warangal also found it possible to occupy Kāñchi for a brief period. From the *Gadyakarnāmrita* and Tiruvēndipuram inscriptions we know that the Chōḷa King was attacked and even imprisoned by his own vassal Kāḍava Kōpperuñjinga and that when the shocking news reached the Hoysaḷa King Vīra Naraśimha (A.D. 1220–1238), he despatched his army under his able generals Appanna and Goppayya whose forces struck terror in the Kāḍava territory (South Arcot region) and forced him to release the Chōḷa King Rājarāja III. This took place sometime in A.D. 1222–23. The Hoysaḷa army found in it an excellent opportunity to further their designs of domination over the Tamil country and even penetrated the Pāṇḍyan territory upto Rāmēśwaram. The Chōḷa country became virtually a protectorate of the Hoysaḷas during the times of Rājarāja III. More than fifty inscriptions of the latter king are available at Kāñchi city from the 5th to 29th year and they clearly show the dominant role played by the Hoysaḷas and the Telugu Chōḷa chieftains there. The Hoysaḷa influence increased steadily from 1220 to 1245 A.D. The presence of the Hoysaḷa troops (bherundas) at Kāñchi is attested by one of the inscriptions dated A.D. 1221.[1] Probably Rājarāja III had no other alternative but to acquise in the

1. Ep. Ind., VII, pp. 95 ff.

stationing of the Hoysaḷa army and the generals at Kāñchi for the help he received from them. Many of Vishṇuvardhana's generals who took part in quelling the Kāḍava rebel and rescued Rājarāja III were present at Kāñchi. The inscriptions mentioning the various Hoysaḷa Mahāpradhānas, Daṇḍanāyakas and Sāmantas and their various gifts to the temples at Kāñchi are dated between A.D. 1226 and 1240 and hence contemporary to the reigns of Vishṇuvardhana Vīra Narasiṁha II and Vira (1233–1267). In all the epigraphs, the nominal overlordship of Rājarāja III is acknowledged. Thus, we find one Goppayya Daṇḍanāyaka son of Mallayya Daṇḍanāyaka donating a village to Lord Varadarāja in A.D. 1231.[1] He was probably the same Goppayya, the famous general, who along with Appanna, who led the Hoysaḷa forces victoriously into the Tamil country and subdued Kōpperuñjinga and restored Rājarāja III to the Chōḷa throne. Two other Hoysaḷa generals who visited Kāñchi and gave donations to the same Vishnu Temple were Ammanna Daṇḍanāyaka and Mallappa Daṇḍa nāyaka – both in the 14th year of Rājarāja III i.e., in A.D. 1230, when Vīra Narasimha was the Hoysaḷa ruler. In A.D.1234, Vīra Sōmēśvara came to the Hoysaḷa throne and during his time, there seems to have been direct defacto control over Kāñchi, because the inscription is dated in his own regnal year. So far, the nominal control of the Chōḷas was acknowledged in the inscriptions.[2] But even that had ceased now. During Sōmēśvara's time two of his ministers Polavi Daṇḍanāyaka and Vallaiya-Daṇḍanāyaka visited the Vishnu temple in Kāñchi and made donations.[3] The other ministers who gave gifts were Mallappa Daṇḍanāyaka and another Goppayya Daṇḍanāyaka.[4] But in 1240, Rājarāja III is acknowledged as King in Kāñchi and in this year another Hoysaḷa general Kēśava Daṇḍanāyaka, son of Mallayya, visited the temple in Kāñchi.[5] The reason for

1. 404 of 1919.
2. 408 and 397 of 1919.
3. 369 and 366 of 1919.
4. 397, 404 and 615 of 1919.
5. 612 of 1919.

stationing the Hoysaḷa army and the numerous generals at Kāñchi was the latter's strategic position. In the later Chōḷa days it was in reality a secondary capital and an important military stronghold. Even Karuṇākara Tonḍaimān is said to have had his campings here before he left for his battle with the Kaligas in the 12th century. In this period, Kāñchi was a corridor for the Telugu powers to come into Tamil Nadu. The Telugu Chōḷas of Nellore were in charge of Kāñchi under the nominal overlordship of the Chōḷas. Numerous inscriptions belonging to their chieftains are found at Kāñchi. Their records even dated back to A.D. 1205 belonging to Tammi Siddha. His successor Tikka I or Ganḍagōpāla was in charge of Kāñchi while Rājarāja III was ruling. His inscriptions acknowledge the nominal suzerainty of the Chōḷa King and some are issued in his own name. It was while Ganḍagōpāla was controlling Kāñchi that the Hoysaḷas extended their dominance here. As they appeared as the protectors of the Chōḷas and quelled the Kāḍavas in South Arcot, they probably performed a similar task at Kāñchi by rescuing the latter from the Telugu-Chōḍas. The inscriptions describing their hold over Kāñchi noticed earlier were dated in i.e., 1226–1240 Ganḍagōpāla's period (1223–1250).

The Hoysaḷas were probably responsible in curbing, however briefly, the power of Telugu Chōḍa chieftain. But it was only for a temporary period. The Telugu Chōḍa Tikka (Ganḍagōpāḷa) seems to have re-asserted himself and, according to the introductory verses of Tikkana Sōmayajis *Nirvacanōttara Rāmāyanamu,* subdued the Hoysaḷa ruler Sōmēśvara, and established the Chōḷa in his position and took up the title "Chōḷasthāpanāchārya". This is confirmed by a Hoysaḷa epigraph dated S 1162 (A.D. 1240) which mention Sōmēśvara's expedition against Ganḍagōpāla.[1] The latter's inscriptions began to re-appear in Kāñchi after the Hoysaḷa exit.[2] Perhaps this was one of the reasons why the Hoysaḷas were compelled

1. Ep. Car., VI, Kd. 100 ; K. A. N. Sastri : Cholas, p. 434.
2. 387 of 1919 dated A.D. 1244.

to withdraw from Kāñchi area and they are not heard of so much after A.D. 1240. Tikka I continued to be a Chōḷa feaudatory in charge of Kāñchi until A.D. 1249 when Kākatiya Gaṇapati captured the city. Later, Kāñchi changed hands rapidly among the Kāḍava Kōpperuñjinga and later the Pāṇḍyas. In 1260, the rising Pandyan power under Jatavarman Sundara I overran the Toṇḍamaṇḍalam and the Telugu Chōḍa territory upto Nellore. He scored brilliant victories over Chōḷa King Rājēndra III, Hoysaḷa power under Sōmēśvara, Kāḍava Kōpperuñjinga, the Telugu-Chōḍa Vijayagandagōpāla and Kākatiya King Gaṇapati (both of whom he killed). He anointed himself at Nellore and Kāñchi, which became his second capital. In 1312, there was a lightning march of the Chēra King Ravivarman who captured Kāñchi from the Pāṇḍyas and performed the second coronation there. His inscription in Varadarājaswāmi temple at Kāñchi mentions this event and adds that on this occasion he gave large gifts to the temple.[1] But the Chēra hold over Kāñchi was short-lived. The Kākatiyas under the dynamic King Pratāparudra II recovered from Malikkafur's attacks earlier and marched southwards upto Kāñchi. Prataparudra's general came to Kāñchi installed a governor Manavira by name and granted the revenues of his villages to Arutalaperumāḷ Temple there. The Kākatiya power penetrated further south and probably in alliance with the Hoysaḷa power, defeated and reduced the last remnants of the Pāṇḍyan powers, as attested by his inscription at Srirangam.[2]

Another Hoysaḷa Interlude in Kāñchi A.D. 1335:

There was another brief interlude of Hoysaḷa rule in Kāñchi during the times of Ballāḷa III's reign. It was a turbulent period when South India was overrun by the army of Delhi Sultan Muhammad Bin Tuglak. The army marched against the Hoysaḷa capital Dwārasamudra and marched further south and captured Madurai. A Sultanate was established at Madurai

1. E.I., IV, p. 145 ff.
2. E.I., VII, p. 128 ff.

which lasted upto A.D. 1371. But meanwhile, Ballāḷa III, the Hoysaḷa King who was forced to leave Dwarasamudra shifted his capital to Tiruvannāmalai in North Arcot District of Tamilnadu. From there he was operating against the Madura Sultans. It was probably during this time, the Hoysaḷas held the Kāñchi region. His inscription at Varadarājaswami temple dated in 1335 mentions that Vīra Vallabadēva was camping at Kāñchi and that his minister or chief Kampayya Dannāyaka made a grant to the temple.[1] Another undated epigraph records that the Hoysaḷa King and his queens visited the temple and presented to the same temple a throne named after himself "*Vira-Vallālan*" which was placed in the Abhisheka-mandapa under a canopy called 'Ariyannavallan' to seat the God on the festival days. In the presence of the King, *Tiruvāymoli*, the Tamil hymns of the great saint Saṭagōpa (Nammāḻvār), were recited and honours and presents were granted to persons who did meritorious services to the temple.[2] Atleast there are four inscriptions in the Varadarajaswāmi temple, Kāñchi which give details of the different presents given to different recipients.[3] These inscriptions reveal that Ballāḷa was greatly devoted to Vishnu, like his predecessors like Vishṇuvadhana I, a desciple of Rāmānuja. The latter was closely associated with Kāñchi and the Vishnu temple there. This temple attained fame because of this. Ballāḷa III therefore paid a visit to the temple and made special gifts.

Ballāḷa III visited Kāñchi in A.D. 1335 and after that he lived only for seven years. It was a trying period when he had to re-consolidate his strength and fight an almost last-ditch battle with the Madura Sultans. With a huge army, he fought a battle at Tiruchirapalli. Inspite of his initial success, this battle proved disastrous for Ballāla who was first taken prisoner and later killed in A.D. 1342.[4] The Hoysaḷa power did not recover from the blow. But meanwhile, Kāñchi passed under

1. 401 of 1919.
2. 397 of 1919.
3. ARE, 1919-20, p. 199.
4. Derrett: *The Hoysalas*, p. 173.

the control of Sambuvarayas and later under the newly risen Vijayanagar in about A.D. 1362. From now, the Vijayanagar inscriptions begin to appear in Kāñchi.

CHILDREN OF VISHṆUVARDHANA

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Preamble

NARASIMHA I, SON of Vishṇuvardhana by his queen Lakshmīdēvi, as we are aware, acquired the title 'Fire to the forest rival heirs' during the last period of his reign. Although we have registered this title in the history of Narasiṁha I we have not traced his rival heirs.

Through an inscription of 1129 A.D.,[1] we have come to know of a son of Vishṇuvardhana by name Kumāra Ballāḷa Dēva and his eldest younger sister Hariyaladēvi. But we have not attempted to know more about them. According to the inscription Kumāra Ballāḷa Dēva was assisting his father in the administration of the country which means he was already grown up in 1129 A.D.

Depending entirely upon an inscription dated 1133 A.D.,[2] it has been argued that Narasiṁha I was born in 1133 A.D. Since many inscriptions from 1142 A.D., mentions Narasiṁha as ruling the country, it has been surmised that Kumāra Ballāḷa Dēva found mentioned in Mg. 22 as dead. In other words historians have concluded that Narasiṁha I, had no rival heirs for the throne. Then, is it not curious that he should assume a title 'Dāyādadāvānaḷa'? This set me into further investigation on this point. Fortunately it has been possible for me to find out that Vishṇuvardhana had three sons and a daughter by his first crowned consort Śāntaladēvi senior by name Kumāra Ballāḷadēva alias Vīra Ballāḷa, Vishṇuvardhana alias Chikka Biṭṭiдēva, Vinayāditya and Hariyaladēvi alias Hariyabbarasi. There is enough epigraphical material not only in support of this but also that they were alive during the period of

1. E.C., VI, Mg. 22.
2. E.C., V, Belur, 124.

Narasiṁha I. The material which has come to my notice in support of this is given hereunder for further investigation of scholars.

Birth date of Narasiṁha I ?

Mg. 22 of 'Śakavarshada 1052neya saumya saṁvatsara-duttarāyaṇa saṁkrānti' corresponding to Wednesday the 25-12-1129 A.D., as already mentioned tells us of Kumāra Ballāḷa Dēva, King's *eldest son* and Hariyaladēvi his eldest younger sister who was already married. From this inscription it is not possible to know anything of their mother.

One Rāyaṇa Daṇḍanātha erects a temple of Kēśavadēva at Maraḷe village (which according to E.C. VI, Chikmagalur, 140 of 1147 A.D., is called as Vishṇuvardhanakēśavadēvapura) and an inscription is installed therein.[1] The date mentioned in the said inscription is 'Śakavarsha 1051neya saumya saṁvatsarada phālguṇa suddha saptami Budhavāra' which corresponds to 16-2-1130 (Sunday). Week day does not tally. But it fully tallies if it is '1050neya Kīlaka saṁvatsarada phālguṇa suddha saptami Budhavāra' i.e., with Wednesday 27-12-1129. Hence the inscription is one near to the date of Mg. 22. It tells us of a son of Vishṇuvardhana by name 'śrī Nṛisiṁhakshōnīpati' by Lakshmīdēvi and a son by name Vīra Ballāḷa by his crowned consort. This gives a clue that Narasiṁha I, was not born in 1133 A.D. but very much earlier. And this further clarifies that Vīra Ballāḷa alias Kumāra Ballāḷa Dēva was son of crowned consort Śāntaladēvi. There is no reference to the name of Hariyaladēvi in any of the inscriptions of Narasiṁha I and so to presume that she was also born to Śāntaladēvi stands to reason.

Kadur Inscriptions

At this stage we have to refer to another inscription[2] which has not been considered as important since most of the contents

1. E.C., VI, Chikmagalur, 137.
2. E.C., VI, Kadur, 99.

of this inscription are copied from Kadur 96. But I attach great importance to this inscription. Since it is a copied inscription it is better to compare the two inscriptions. Kadur 96 starts with tracing the Yadu vaṁsa from Atṛi to Yadu, son of Yayāti and then claims that in this vaṁsa was born Vinayāditya. Then it tells us of his son Ereyanga and his wife Ēcaladēvi and their qualities. Then we are informed that Ballāḷa and Vishṇuvardhana were born to this couple and finally tells us of Bammaladēvi and Rājaladēvi queens of Vishṇuvardhana and installation of Mancīśvara by Manci daṇḍādhipa.

While Kadur 96 starts with the Hoysaḷa genealogy, Kadur 99 does not say anything about the genealogy (we have to note here that Mg. 22 also does not carry the genealogy). It starts straight with the titles and qualities of Vishṇuvardhana which covers lines 1 to 18 (this has been copied from line 24 to line 39 of Kadur 96 in the same order and continuity, of course, with several mistakes in copying). Plural is used in referring to the king as 'śrī Vishṇuvardhanadēvaruṁ .... rājyaṁ geyyuttuṁire avarggudayisidaṁ ....'. The wordings and the placement of facts indicate that to Vishṇuvardhana was born Ballāḷa nṛipam. In this inscription the same wordings (as are used to Ballāḷa and his younger brother Vishṇuvardhana children of Ereyanga) are used in the same order and in continuation to line No. 18 (again borrowing lines 13, 14, 15 and 16 of Kadur 96). After these two names i.e., Ballāḷa and Vishṇuvardhana, the inscription tells us that in this vaṁsa was born Vinayāditya by borrowing lines 6 to 8 from Kadur 96. Again lines 16, 17, 18 and 19 of Kadur 96 have been copied in Kadur 99. These four lines are again in praise of Vishṇuvardhana. After this, again, the same two lines (formerly said) about Vinayāditya are repeated. The entire inscription, as can be seen, is copied from Kadur 96. If the former reference to Vinayāditya is omitted and later one retained (because of the repitition) the inscription conveys to us that Vishṇuvardhana had three sons by name Ballāḷa, Vishṇuvardhana and Vinayāditya. But because it is a solitary inscription telling us of

Vishṇuvardhana's sons, scholars, who have glanced through this inscription simply state that it is a copy and Vinayāditya is a mistake and it should be Udayāditya. To them, because of numerous inscriptions relating to brothers trio – children of Ereyanga – this badly copied inscription might not have struck as important. But one should note with interest that this inscription refers to the grant of land by the senior door-keeper Rēvimayya of the palace of Vishṇuvardhana. It has also to be noted that this inscription does not refer to any-one earlier to Vishṇuvardhana. Hence, I am of opinion that it refers to Children of Vishṇuvardhana and not sons of Ereyanga. Kadur 99 was installed six months after Kadur 96 was installed.

Kumāra Ballāḷa Dēva

Everyone has said that Kumāra Ballāḷa Dēva must have died some time between 1129 A.D. and 1133 A.D. on the basis that no inscriptions mention of him after A.D. 1129. If it is true and if Lakshmidēvi was a senior queen and did really live at that time why is it she was not made *Paṭṭamahādēvi?* At the time of Vishṇuvardhana's death Dōrasamudra was the capital. But, curiously enough, his body was taken to Mudu-gere from Bankāpura and not Dōrasamudra. Why? Very likely the body was taken there at the instance of Kumāra Ballāḷa Dēva. This could be possible if Kumāra Ballāḷa Dēva was living in 1141 A.D. Let us see if he was living at the time of his father's death and after.

All inscriptions where we find the name of Vīra Ballāḷa and belong to periods after Narasiṁha I occupied the throne, have been thought to belong to Ballāḷa II and dates adjusted to support that thought. There are a number of inscriptions which mention only of Vīra Ballāḷa ruling Gangavāḍi 96,000. These may not belong to Ballāḷa II at all. Some of these we may consider.

There is an inscription[1] which reads as follows :

" Vīraganganasahāyasūra śanivārasiddhi . . . . niśśanka

1. E.C., IV, Krishnarajpet, 56.

pratāpa hoyisaḷa vīra Ballāḷa Dēvaru Dōrasamudradanelevīḍinoḷu . . . śaka 1054neya virōdhikṛutu saṁvatsarada pushya suddha 1 Ādivāra . . . ."

The date mentioned in the inscription corresponds to 11-12-1132. Hence it refers to only Kumāra Ballāḷa Dēva son of Vishṇuvardhana.

There is a vīragal[1] referring to one hiriya kūsa Cinnayya, son mahāpasāyata Masaṇa gavunḍa and is dated Siddhārti saṁvatsarada Vaisākha suddha 1 Vaḍḍavāra relating to Pratāpa bhujabala cakravarti Hoysaḷa Vīra Ballāḷa Dēva's period. The date mentioned fully and correctly matches with Saturday 1-4-1139. Another inscription[2] also refers to Vīra Ballāḷa and is dated Siddhārti Kārtīka bahuḷa shashṭi Vaḍḍavāra which as is apparent, has been erected six months after Chikmaglur 27 and so both necessarily refers to Kumāra Ballāḷa Dēva son of Vishṇuvardhana.

Another inscription[3] says as follows:

"Svasti śrīmatu Krōdhana saṁvatsarada vaīsāka suddha pancami Ādityavāradandu śrī Vīra Ballāḷa Dēva prithivī rājyam geyyuttire

Mr. B. L. Rice has indicated the corresponding date as 1184 A.D. perhaps, because he has seen corresponding saṁvat 'Krōdhi' and not saṁvat 'Krōdhana'. Actually 'Krōdhana' saṁvatsara corresponds to 1145 A.D., 1205 A.D. and 1325 A.D., which go with the dates of Hoysaḷa kings by name Ballāḷa. The dates pecified in the inscription fully matches, including the day of the week, in Krōdhana of 1145 A.D., whereas it is a Monday in 1205 A.D. and a Thursday in 1325 A.D. In view of this absolute matching, I see no reason why it should be assigned to a different date. On this date it is not known if Ballāḷa II was born at all. Hence this relates to Kumāra Ballāḷa Dēva. An inscription[4] dated 7-11-1148 and another[5] of Monday 3-4-1150

1. E.C., VI, Chikmagalur, 27.
2. *Ibid.*: 26.
3. *Ibid.*: 5.
4. E.C., XII, Tumkur, 55.
5. E.C., VI, Chikmagalur, 39.

refer to the ruler as Ballāḷa. Naturally they refer to Kumāra Ballāḷa Dēva.

There is again another śāsana[1] worthy of consideration. It says as follows :

"Vīra Hoisaṇa śri Vīra Ballāḷa Dēvara .....śaka 1076 neya śrīmukha pā . . . ṇa su . . . Bruhaspativāradalu . . ."

This has been dated as 1214 A.D. (?) by Mr. B. L. Rice. The śaka year is given. To skip over the same by 60 years amounts to skipping over truth. If the *tithi* in the inscription had not been erased it would have been easy to fix correctly the date. The one letter missing in the name of the month can be no other than 'lgu' which if inserted completes the month 'pā(lgu)ṇa'. With this we have two dates which corresponds to Thursday in suddha pālguṇa Śrīmukha and they are 18-2-1154 and 25-2-1154. The śaka number should be 1075 and not 1076. For any reason this inscription cannot be assigned to 1214 A.D. Hence this also refers to Kumāra Ballāḷa Dēva.

Another inscription[2] notifies as follows :

"Yuva saṁvatsarada pushya suddha amavāse ādityavāra vyatīpāta vi sa saṁkramaṇadalu . . ."

This corresponds to Sunday the 25th December 1155 A.D. and so has to be assigned to refer to Kumāra Ballāḷa Dēva. Here again Mr. B. L. Rice assigned the date to A.D. 1215 as he had no thought of a Kumāra Ballāḷa Dēva living during 1155 A.D.

An inscription[3] of 26-12-1167 A.D. states as follows ;

"Śrīmanmahāmaṇḍalēsvaranasahāyasūranēkāngavīra niśśnaka pratāpa hoysaḷa Vīra Ballāḷa Dēvaru Mahādēviyarasiyu prithvī rājyaṁ geyyuttiralu Kundāra samasta praje gavuṇḍagaḷuṁ heggaḍegaluṁ 1090 ttaneya sarbbajitu saṁvatsara duttarāyaṇa saṁkramaṇadandu ..."

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1. E.C., XI, Holalkere, 2.
2. E.C., VI, Kadur, 110.
3. E.C., V. Channarayapatna, 191.

Channarayapatna 210 specifically mentions Ballāḷa son of Narasiṁha. It belongs to A.D. 1166. There can be no mistake in identifying the son of Narasiṁha I, as it is stated that Ballāḷa was a servant at the lotus feet of the ruling King. But in Channarayapatna 191, again the inscription directly tells of the ruling king and his wife without refering to any of the ancestors as in the case of other inscriptions of Kumāra Ballāḷa Dēva which we have now seen. From records it has been known that Ballāḷa II had atleast 10 queens. None of them is called Mahādēviarasi. So, I feel, I will not be wrong if this is assigned to Kumāra Ballāḷa Dēva and his wife Mahādēviarasi son and daughter-in-law of Vishṇuvardhana.

We have now seen through several records of different dates from A.D. 1129 to A.D. 1167 belonging to Kumāra Ballāḷa Dēva which justifies the title acqūired by Narasiṁha I to some extent, and that Kumāra Ballāḷa Dēva was living definitely up to A.D. 1167 if not to a later date. Let us see the other material concerning the other two sons of Vishṇuvardhana.

Vishṇuvardhana Junior alias Chikabiṭṭidēva.

Vishṇuvardhana died at Bankāpura in 1141 A.D. Hence scholars were dismayed to find numerous inscriptions of later dates which mention the name of the ruler as Vishṇuvardhana. Each tried to interpret and justify the mention of the name Vishṇuvardhana. Prof. Derrett went to the extent of saying that Vishṇuvardhana in these means Narasiṁha since Narasiṁha assumed such a title. He might have presumed so because there are some inscriptions of Narasiṁha where he is mentioned as Vishṇuvardhana Narasiṁha or Vishṇuvardhana Narasingaperumaladēvaru. That in itself cannot help us to conclude that all inscriptions which bear only Vishṇuvardhana's name and dated after his death to belong to Narasiṁha I. Sri H. Krishna Sastry raises a doubt whether Vishṇuvardhana died in 1141 A.D. on the basis of an inscription of 1144 A.D. wherein a war between Permāḍi and Vishṇuvardhana is described. Actually it is a war between

Vishṇuvardhana Junior and Permāḍi in my opinion. Let us see whether we can get many more corroborating references to Vishṇuvardhana Junior alias Chikabiṭṭidēva.

The inscription[1] which tells us of the death of Vishṇuvardhana describes him as "hiriyarasa Biṭṭidēva" implying thereby the existance of a kiriyarasa by the same name.

Another inscription[2] tells us that 'Chikabiṭṭidēvananuvaradalu rudirōdgāri saṁvatsara māgha ba 5 sukra ... Dēvanā prithivī rājyaṁ geyyuttiralu which corresponds to 1144 A.D. It also refers to Ballāvergaḍe and paḍevaḷa cokkaṇṇa who is identified as Biṭṭidēva Garuḍa in other inscriptions. One such inscription[3] is of 25–12–1155 who has been mistaken to be a general of Narasimha I. Another inscription[4] of Krōdhana corresponding to 1145 A.D. mentions of one Haḍavaḷa Bōki who is described as Dēvana Garuḍa. Cōki and Bōki in my opinion are one and the same as the alphabet used for both *bo* and *co* are one and the same. Further this haḍavaḷa Bōkimayya though a pasayita was barred from getting certain previleges (?) according to an inscription[5] as he was anti-Hoysaḷa kingdom i.e., anti-Narasimha I and pro-Chikabiṭṭidēva being his Garuḍa.

An inscription[6] of 1148 A.D. refers to the ruling King as Vishṇuvardhana.

Another inscription mentions that Biṭṭidēva went to Kalyāṇa to serve senior Hemmāḍirāya and on his way back from the north showed kindness to children of caḷike family who served Kumāra Ballāḷa Dēva.

Another inscription[7] of śaka 1064 Dundubhi pushya uttarayāṇa sankramaṇa pancami Brihavāra corresponding to Thursday the 24th December 1142 also informs us of a Vishṇuvardhana ruling.

Another inscription[8] gives valuable information in the following manner:

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1. E.C., VI, Chikmagalur, 96. 2. E.C. VI, Mudugere, 3. 3. E.C., X, Bowringpet, 9. 4. E.C., V, Belur, 178. 5. *Ibid.* : 15. 6. E.C., VI, Kadur, 34. 7. E.C., IV, Nagamangala, 94. 8. E.C., XII, Tiptur, 58.

"Hoysaḷa Biṭṭidēvara dakshinamahimaṇḍaḷa . . . rājyaṁ geyyuttumire tadīya pittṛi Vishṇubhūpāla pāda padmōpajīvi . . . 1114 paridhāvi saṁvatsarada pushya bahuḷa 11 sukravāra uttarāyaṇa sankramanadandu."

The date corresponds to Friday 1-1-1193 A.D. But it is not a sankrānti day. Atleast in this Parīdhāvi every thing else matches including the śaka number, whereas in the other Parīdhāvi years neither the sankrānti nor the day of the week agrees and so we have to accept 1-1-1193 to be the date of the inscription. The inscription clearly refers to Hoysaḷa Biṭṭidēva, son of Vishṇu Bhūpāla as ruling the kingdom. Mr. B. L. Rice has assigned this inscription to A.D. 1120 which corresponds śārvari saṁvatsara and not Parīdhāvi.

One inscription[1] of 23-12-1146 and another[2] of Monday the 7th January 1174 mentions the ruler's name as Vishṇuvardhana.

Thus we have references to Chikabiṭṭidēva ranging from 1141 A.D. to 1193 A.D. Thereafterwards we do not see any inscription of Vishṇuvardhana or Chikabiṭṭidēva. Is it not a strange coincidance that Ballāḷa II calls himself as the sole master of the 7½ lakh country for the first time in his life time in the śaka 1114 Parīdhāvi and also starts his own Era? Perhaps, all rival heirs to Nārasiṁha I and Ballāḷa II were no longer on the scene from then onwards.

Vinayāditya

The purpose of this paper will be served after getting some references to Vinayāditya mentioned in Kadur 99.

Nagamangala 32, Chikmagalur 160 and 161 and Sravanabelagola 267 establish that Hariyaladēvi daughter of Vishṇuvardhana and eldest younger sister of Kumāra Ballaḷa Dēva was married to Bharata daṇḍanāyaka and they begot three children by name Śantaladēvi, Biṭṭidēva and Mariyāne and this daughter Śāntaladēvi was married to Būcirāja who had two children by name Vibhurāyadēva and Mariyāne.

1. E.C., VI, Kadur, 76.
2. *Ibid.* : 50.

An epigraph[1] states as follows :

"Svāsti vikramagāḷaṁ 1070 svāsti śrīmatu śrī Biṭṭimayyana māvaṁ vineyāditya poysaḷadēvararājaṁ parēdhāvieṁba saṁvatsaraṁ . . . ."

In respect of this inscription Mr. B. L. Rice states as follows :

"Hoysaḷa inscription Cm. 38 also presents inexplainable features. It is dated in the Vikra(ma)-gaḷa (which is most unusual) - 1070, the year Paridhavi - and this corresponds correctly with A.D. 1012. But it is assigned to the reign or Kingdom of (Vinita or) Vinayaditya poysaḷa dēva, who is described as Biṭṭimayya's ? mava (father-in-law), the word is not clear. There was a minister of this name in the time of Vishṇuvardhana, but he may not be same person. Moreover, the date 1012 seems much too early for Vinayaditya". [2]

and he has translated the contents of the inscriptions as follows :

"(On the date specified) in the Kingdom of Bittimayya's grandfather Vinayāditya Hoysaḷadēva . . . ."

Māva means father-in-law or maternal uncle. Why it has been translated as 'grandfather' is a thing which I cannot comprehend. Further in the transliteration of the Kannada text into its Roman script it has been put as 'muttaṁ' which means great-grandfather. Vikrama 1070, no doubt, corresponds to 1012 Parīdhāvi. Unless the contents have due bearing on the dates, it is difficult to come to correct assessment. In this inscription we have two names viz., Biṭṭimayya and his māvaṁ (maternal uncle) Vindyāditya. So far we had not investigated about Vinayāditya son of Vishṇuvardhana. Now we know of a Biṭṭimayya (son of Hariyaladēvi) and his Māvaṁ Vinayāditya (son of Vishṇuvardhana) 1192 A.D. corresponds to parīdhāvi saṁvatsara. Perhaps the inscription refers to this date as

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1. E.C., VI, Chikmagalur, 38.
2. E.C., VI, Intro., p. 15.

there is every likelihood of the śaka number being wrongly decoded. I am however inclined to put this for 1192 A.D.

There is another inscription[1] about which also some descrepency is felt in respect of the date., Śaka 924 mentioned in the inscription corresponds to Shubhakrutu and not Jaya as mentioned in the inscription. Śaka 916, 1036, 1096 are all Jaya saṁvatsaras. None of these Jaya saṁvatsaras match with the ruling period of Vinayāditya, grandfather of Vishṇuvardhana. More or less the same is true of Cm. 38 also. In both we find mentioned, the ruling person as Vinayāditya. The following is the extract of Mg. 9.

> "Svasti śakavarsha 924neya Jaya saṁvatsarada chaītra māsada sudda dasami.....vāra pushya nakshatradandu Vinayāditya poysaḷana rājyaṁ pravartise ..."

Strangely enough, in Jaya saṁvatsara corresponding to śaka 1096, chaītra suddha dasami guruvāradandu we have pushya nakshatra which matches with Thursday 14–3–1174 A.D. In all other Jaya saṁvatsaras ennumerated the nakshatra (on the specified māsa, paksha and tithi of the inscription) is āshlēsha. Hence we have to fix the date of this inscription to be A.D. 14–3–1174 and accept that Vinayāditya, son of Vishṇuvardhana was ruling the country (may be a portion of it).

Conclusion

These records which we have seen through tell us that the three sons of Vishṇuvardhana other than Narasiṁha I, were living and might be ruling atleast some portions of the country and justify the existence of rival heirs to Narasiṁha I until his death and to Ballāḷa II up to 1192–93 A.D.

As most of the records belong to Kadur District, it is likely Kumāra Ballāḷa Dēva was holding power from around Mudigere-Sosavur. And perhaps after his death Vinayāditya was there. But Chikabiṭṭidēva in later days might have shifted to Cōla region of southwest and south along with his Garuda Cōkimayya.

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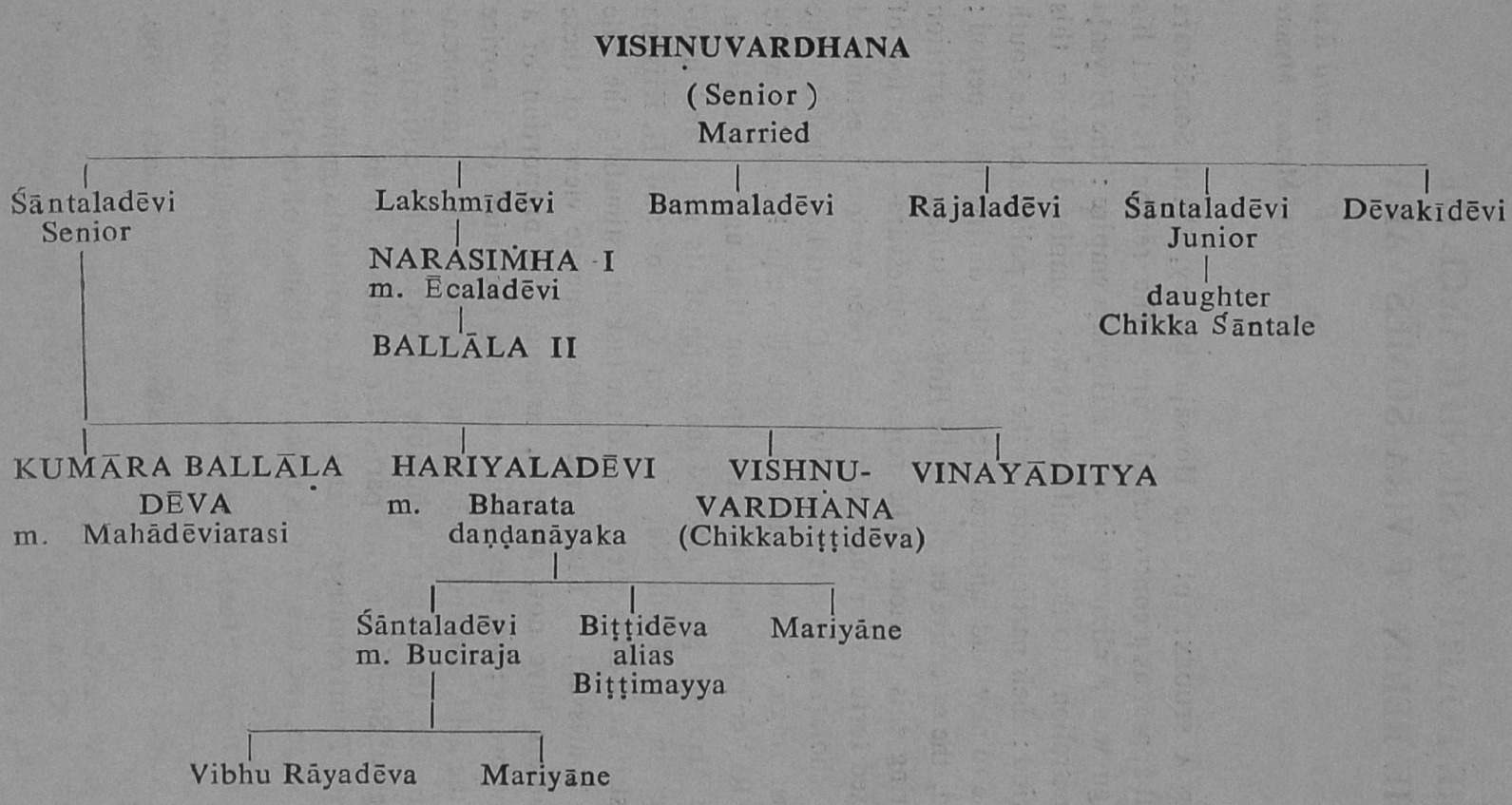
1. E.C., VI, Mudugere, 9.

More investigation is necessary to come to more definite conclusions on this aspect. A genealogical tree is appended to this as detailed in this paper and including all the queens of Vishṇuvardhana.

Why children of senior queen, first crowned consort Śāntaladēvi could not occupy the throne is a matter which needs serious consideration. There is a traditional belief that Vishṇuvardhana was converted to Vaīshṇavism by Śrī Śrī Rāmānujācārya. Did Narasiṁha I come to occupy the throne on religious grounds? Stories of persecution are found mentioned in traditional writings. Could they be matched with historical truths? I plead for further investigation on these points.


VISHNUVARDHANA
(Senior)
Married
Śāntaladēvi
Senior
Lakshmīdēvi
Bammaladēvi
Rājaladēvi
Śāntaladēvi
Junior
Dēvakīdēvi
NARASIṂHA I
m. Ēcaladēvi
daughter
Chikka Śāntale
BALLĀLA II
KUMĀRA BALLĀLA DĒVA
m. Mahādēviarasi
HARIYALADĒVI
m. Bharata daṇḍanāyaka
VISHNU-VARDHANA
(Chikkabiṭṭidēva)
VINAYĀDITYA
Śāntaladēvi
m. Buciraja
Biṭṭidēva
alias
Biṭṭimayya
Mariyāne
Vibhu Rāyadēva
Mariyāne

THE POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE REIGN OF VĪRA SŌMĒS'VARA

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FOR A STUDENT of the Hoysaḷa history, Vīra Somēśvara will appear as a controversial figure. The reason is that his reign was a climacteric of the Hoysaḷa empire : the Hoysaḷa penetration into the Tamil country was completed during this period ; their participation in the intricate politics of the South rose to new and unprecedented heights during this period ; and, the extensive empire of the Hoysaḷas suffered a partition during this period. The reign of Sōmēśvara—a period of mixed fortunes for the dynasty—has been variously estimated by scholars and quite naturally too. Derrett has called it "the most tragic of the reigns of the Hoysaḷa Kings,"[1] while K. R. Venkataraman is of the opinion that under Somēśvara, the "Hoysaḷa power reached the zenith of its glory and influence in the Tamil Nāḍu".[2] But Coelho[3] and H. Krishna Sastri[4] have altogether avoided the task of estimating the rule of Somēśvara. The diametrically opposite views of these scholars have not, as such, assumed the proportion of a controversy ; but they, while confusing the mind of a novice in the field, demand a solution to this problem of interpretation. So, this paper is a humble attempt to review critically the reign of Somēśvara with particular reference to his activities in the Tamil country, which is the true political significance of his reign, and to assess his place in the history of the Hoysaḷas.

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1. Derrett : "The Hoysaḷas : A Medieval Indian Royal Family (1957), p. 117.
2. K. R. Venkataraman : "Hoysaḷas in the Tamil Country" (1950), p. 24.
3. William Coelho : "The Hoysaḷa Vamsa" (1950).
4. H. Krishna Sastry : "The Hoysaḷas in and Beyond Mysore", Q.J.M.S., Vol. II (1911).

Derrett repeatedly emphasises that the adventures of the Hoysaḷas in the Tamil country which reflect their "inordinate acquisitiveness,"[1] had been their undoing. In conformity with this view, he opines that the source of Sōmēśvara's misfortunes was his preoccupation with the Tamil country.[2] However, it must be observed that the Tamil affair was, for Sōmēśvara, an inherited commitment. His father, Narasiṁha II, had been enticed into the Southern politics when he had discovered that the Chōḷa empire had grown too weak as a result of its feudatories turning turbulent and raising the banner of revolt with impunity. But he deputed his son to carry out his political designs in the South; and an inscription of A.D. 1237 at Govindanahalli describes Sōmēśvara as having treated the skulls of his enemies as mere playthings even when he was a boy.[3] Thus, the policy of Narasiṁha II linked Sōmēśvara to the Tamil affair; an inscription of A.D. 1229 in Mahālingēśvara temple at Badanalu refers to Sōmēśvara as residing at Kannanūr in the Chōḷa-rājya.[4] Hence, it is incorrect to conjecture the date of the foundation of the city of Kannanūr as A.D. 1237.[5] Vikramapura, mentioned in the Bangalore Museum Copper Plate,[6] has been identified with Kannanūr by Hultzsch[7] with the help of an inscription of Sōmēśvara in the Jambukēśhwara temple.[8] Vijayarājēndrapaṭṭaṇa, mentioned in two records from the Ellēśvara temple of Ellēśapura in the Hole-Narasipur taluk, and dated in A.D. 1238, is taken to be another residence of Sōmēśvara in the Chōḷa country.[9] However, since there is no further evidence to support this view, we may very well doubt the possibility of two Hoysaḷa capitals

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1. Derrett: *op. cit.*, p. 174.
2. *Ibid.*: p. 117.
3. E.C., IV, Krishnarajapet, 63.
4. E.C., III, Nanjangud. 36.
5. As mentioned in K. R. Venkataraman: *op. cit.*, p. 17.
6. E.C., IX, Bangalore, 6.
7. A.R.S.I.E., 1892; E.I., Vol. III, p. 8–9.
8. A.R.S.I.E., 1891, No. 18.
9. M.A.R., 1913, Para 80.

in the Chōḷa dominions, and it is reasonable to equate Vijayarajendrapaṭṭaṇa with Kannanūr.

During the reign of Sōmēśvara the seat of the Hoysaḷa activities was shifted from Dōrasamudra to Kannanūr. This change was not, in any way, unnatural in view of the political training which Somēśvara received from his father. But Coelho is wrong when he observes that Sōmēśvara rarely visited Dōrasamudra,[1] for, there are inscriptional evidences to show that he was ruling his Kingdom from Dōrasamudra in the years A.D. 1235[2]; A.D. 1237[3]; A.D. 1242[4] and A.D. 1252.[5] There is no evidence to prove that he had altogether sacrificed the interests of his subjects on the plateau. Hence, Somēśvara hardly deserves the criticism proffered by Derrett on this account.[6]

The shifting alliances in the political game in the South from the most fascinating side of the reign of Sōmēśvara. When he was the co-regent of his father, Somēśvara had lent a new lease of life to the tottering Chōḷa Kingdom of Rāja Rāja III by rescuing him from the vindictive Kadavas, and called himself "the establisher of the Chōḷa Kingdom,"[7] and extended the political influences of the Hoysaḷas over the Tamil country. After his accession to the throne (A.D. 1235), he again had to fight against the Kadava in A.D. 1237, and he defeated him at Mangalada – Koppa.[8] In A.D. 1240, Sōmēśvara had to lead an expedition against the Telugu Coda Tikka Gandagopala,[9] the result of which was not satisfactory, if we believe the statements of the Telugu poet Tikkana Somayaji, who shows that Tikka imagined himself as the "setter-up of Cōḷa" and gained that title by spoiling the "arrogance of the

1. Coelho : *op. cit.*, p. 186.
2. E.C., XI, Jagalur, 33; M.A.R., 1910, Para, 80.
3. E.C., III, Mandya, 122.
4. M.A.R., 1910, Para 81.
5. E.C., VI, Kadur, 101; E.C., XVI, Gubbi, 76.
6. Derrett : *op. cit.*, p. 119.
7. E.C., III, Nanjangud, 36.
8. E.C., V, Arsikere, 123.
9. E.C., VI, Kadur, 100.

untameable arm of the Karnāṭaka Somēśvara."[1] From this we can infer that Tikka Gandagopala had aligned himself with the Chōḷa, atleast for a short period, and fought against the Hoysaḷa King. It is also believed that Gandagopala defeated the Kadavas, which weakened Somēśvara's excuse for remaining in the South, and led Rāja Rāja III and his more powerful co-regent Rājēndra Chōḷa III to think in terms of shaking off the Hoysaḷa influence.[2] But it appears that Rājēndra Chōḷa as a co-regent of Rāja Rāja III, had made an abortive bid for independence as early as in A.D. 1237; an inscription of that year in the Kēśava temple at Haranahalli says that Sōmēśvara uprooted Rājēndra Chōḷa in the battlefield, and, when he sought refuge, protected him.[3] Hence, it must be concluded that Rājēndra Chōḷa III, who was ambitious, had always languished under the Hoysaḷa authority, and had always been thinking of freeing himself and his country from the foreign yoke. But once he was defeated and compelled to submit, he maintained a friendly relationship with Sōmēśvara, while the Hoysaḷas continued to exert their influence over the Chōḷa country. An inscription of about A.D. 1240 refers to the grant made to the Śrīvaishṇavas and alludes to Mudikondachōḷapuram, which clearly indicates the continued Hoysaḷa influence over the Tamil country.[4] Two inscriptions of Rājēndra Chōḷa III—one, of his fourth regnal year (i.e., A.D. 1250)[5] and the other of his fifth regnal year (i.e., A.D. 1251)[6] refer to the Hoysaḷa Officers in the Chōḷa country, which is a further indication of the Hoysaḷa supremacy over the Chōḷa Kingdom.

The Pāndyas, who fought bitterly against the Hoysaḷas when the latter rushed to the aid of the Chōḷa King Rāja Rāja III, now became friendly with Sōmēśvara. This is indicated

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1. Quoted in Derrett: *op. cit.*, p. 122.
2. *Ibid.*
3. E.C., V, Arsikere, 123.
4. E.C., IV, Yelandur, 61.
5. A.R.S.I.E., 1913, No. 49; Rangacharya: Vol., III, p. 1525.
6. A.R.S.I.E., 1903, No. 387; Rangacharya: Vol., III, p. 1513.

by the Tirumaiyam[1] and Tinnevelly[2] records. The affix "māmadi" therein applied to Somēśvara clearly implies to a matrimonial alliance with Māravarman Sundara Pāndya II. A certain Pammiyakkam who is referred to in two inscriptions[3] is conjectured to be a daughter of Somēśvara, given in marriage to Sundara Pāndya II. The matrimonial alliance between the two houses was accompanied by a political alliance. In an inscription of about A.D. 1246,[4] we see Sōmēśvara changing his title from "Pāndya-disapatta" to "Pāndya-rājya-sthāpanāchārya"; and an inscription of A.D. 1248[5] refers to Somēśvara as "Pāndya-kula-samrakshana-daksha-dakshina-bhujam" or "a right-hand in protecting the Pāndya-kula." A Tamil inscription of the seventh regnal year of Māravarman Sundara Pāndya II[6] even refers to a settlement of disputes between the Śaivas and Vaishṇavas by Appanna Daṇḍanayāka, obviously one of the Officers of Somēśvara.

The Chōḷa King Rājēndra, whose restless ambition had been caged by Sōmēśvara, made an earnest bid to regain the lost prestige of his dynasty. He, with the support of the Telugu Chodas, attacked the Pāndyas, and must have earned some victories as testified in an inscription.[7] This must have led Sōmēśvara to go to the rescue of the Pāndya and to assume the proud title "the saviour of the Pāndya Kingdom".

The policy of Sōmēśvara, while it resulted in friendship with the Pāndyas, bought the enmity of Rājēndra Chōḷa. The Ranganātha temple inscription (the date corresponds to 25 December A.D. 1252)[8] calls him "the hostile rod of death to the Kannariga (i.e., Karnataka) King, he who had drowned the power of the Kali (age) in the ocean, the hero's anklets on

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1. A.R.S.I.E., 1906, No. 387.
2. A.R.S.I.E., 1894, No. 156.
3. A.R.S.I.E., 1911, Nos. 526 and 527; Rangacharya: Vol. III, p.1452.
4. E.C., III, Mandya, 62.
5. E.C., V, Arkalgud, 12.
6. A.R.S.I.E., 1906, No. 387; Rangacharya: Vol. III, p. 1652.
7. A.R.S.I.E., 1908, No. 185.
8. A.R.S.I.E., 1892, No. 64; E.I., Vol. II, p-176

whose feet were put on by the hands of Vīra Sōmēśvara". Since the inscription is from Śrīraṅgam, Derrett thinks that the immediate neighbourhood of Kannanur had been taken out of Hoysaḷa hands.[1] Even if it were true, it must have been for a very short time, for, an inscription of A.D. 1253 refers to Sōmēśvara as dwelling in the great capital named Vikramapura (Kannanur).[2] We do not come across any positive evidence to show that Rājēndra could, at any time, overthrow the Hoysaḷa influence. Somēśvara continued to feel proud of his title "the saviour of the Chōḷa-Kingdom."[3]

The Tamil politics took a new turn when Jatavarman Sundara Pāndya I assumed the charge of Pāndya affairs in about A.D. 1251. His overwhelming ambition got the better of all considerations of matrimonial and political alliances which had bound the Pāndya house with that of the Hoysaḷas. An inscription of his seventh regnal year (A.D. 1256)[4] refers to his attack on the Hoysaḷas, in which several Hoysaḷa commanders, including Singaṇa, lost their lives. An undated inscription from Śrīraṅgam[5] records that Sundara Pāndya had "despatched to the other world the Moon of the Karnata Country". Since the latest record of Somēśvara belongs to his twenty-ninth regnal year (i.e., A.D. 1262), we may conjecture that he must have been killed in A.D. 1262 or A.D. 1263. However, this is not in conformity with the evidence furnished by an inscription of A.D. 1257[6] which refers to an incident in which Kanneya-Nāyaka with his wives and servants embraced Garuda, and fulfilled his engagement with Somēśvara, alluding to the death of the Hoysaḷa King. But in view of better evidences in Tamil records, we may ignore this inscription.

Yet another significance of the reign of Somēśvara lies in the fact that during this period the Hoysaḷa empire was

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1. Derrett : *op. cit.*, p. 126.
2. E.C., IX, Bangalore, 6.
3. E.C., V., Arsikere, 108 (dated A.D. 1255).
4. A.R.S.I.E., 1894, No. 166.
5. E.I., Vol. III, p. 8.
6. E.C., IV, Krishnarajpet, 9.

partitioned. An inscription of A.D.1254 refers to a grant made by Narasiṁha III, but signed by Somēśvara.[1] Another inscription dated a little later in the same year shows that Narasiṁha was on the throne.[2] Vīra Rāmanātha must have taken the charge of the Tamil possessions of the Hoysaḷas in Śaka 1177, i.e., A.D. 1255[3] and this date is confirmed by another record which gives Śaka 1182 as his sixth regnal year.[4] Thus there are obvious evidences to indicate that the empire was partitioned in A.D. 1255. But Śōmēśvara was no King Lear who converted himself into a cipher by partitioning his Kingdom. In A.D. 1255 we still see him residing at Kannanur and performing 'hiranya-garbha' and 'Tulapurusha' to advertise his sovereignty.[5] An inscription of A.D. 1256 in the Isvara temple at Gandasi also mentions that Sōmēśvara was ruling his Kingdom from Kannanur.[6] The division of the empire must have been the result either of administrative expediency or of the irreconcilable temper of the two half-brothers, of which they gave ample evidence in the subsequent years.

The reign of Sōmēśvara, thus, reveals a change in the nature of the Hoysaḷa politics and a change in the Hoysaḷa fortunes. Whether he effected any change in the political policy of the Hoysaḷas, is a very intriguing question. Apparently it seems that Somēśvara had done it; the shifting of his capital to Kannanur may indicate a radical change in the political policy of the Hoysaḷas. But on a closer examination of the situation, this view loses its ground. As has been mentioned before, Somēśvara was trained in the Tamil affairs by his father, who had paved the way for the founding of the southern headquarters at Kannanur. Therefore, if there had been a change in the political policy of the Hoysaḷas, it was just a sequel of the policy pursued by his predecessor.

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1. E.C., V, Belur, 73.
2. E.C., V, Belur, 125.
3. E.I., Vol. III, p. 10.
4. A.R.S.I.E., 1910, No. 202.
5. E.C., V, Arsikere, 108.
6. E.C., V, Arsikere, 166.

The changing alliances in the Tamil country, which challenged Somēśvara, are believed to have brought about the ultimate humiliation on him. But, it must be observed that the changing alliances were mostly due to the ambitious nature of the Tamil monarchs, although the presence of Somēśvara in their dominions might have contributed to their restlessness. Jatavarman Sundara Pāndya I was propelled to action exclusively by his irresistible ambition, while Rājēndra Chōḷa III had, at least, some grievance against the Hoysaḷa King. So, if the intricate politics of the Tamil country brought about some failure on the Hoysaḷas, the responsibility does not wholly rest on the shoulders of Somēśvara.

However, it must be confessed that, Somēśvara did partition his empire. If he had done it for administrative convenience, we see nothing wrong in the arrangement, because he continued as the King. But considering the bitter enmity which raged between Narasiṁha III and Vīra Rāmanātha, in the later years, it must be observed that the partition of the Kingdom or, at least, a fatal civil war, could not have been prevented, even if Sōmēśvara had not divided his Kingdom. The partition and its enervating influence on the Hoysaḷa Kingdom appears to have been just a product of the expansion of empire, which was quite in line with the inexorable historical process.

Hence, it is difficult to accept the view of Derrett that the rule of Sōmēśvara was the most tragic of the reigns of the Hoysaḷa Kings. His final defeat at the hands of Jatavarman Sundara Pāndya I does not make his rule a tragic one. He fought gallantly against the heavy odds in the Tamil country whose affairs he had inherited, and was ultimately overwhelmed by the new and more energetic forces there. His reign, indeed, has an element of tragedy in it; but it is the tragedy of heroism — a romantic tragedy. Sōmēśvara's reign was certainly not more tragic than the reign of Narasiṁha I who yawned his life away, or those of Narasiṁha III and Vīra Rāmanātha who frittered away their scanty resources by crossing their swords with each other.

But it is also difficult to agree with K. R. Venkataraman who praises Sōmēśvara's "high order of diplomacy and unrivalled statecraft".[1] The diplomatic game in the Tamil country was not always under the direction of the Hoysaḷas, though it always had their participation. The ambitious political designs of the Tamil monarchs and their love for independence, often produced changes in the political alliances, and Somēśvara had to cope with the erratic changes in the Tamil politics. His "high order of diplomacy and unrivalled statecraft" is nowhere indicated.

Thus, Sōmēśvara deserves neither the uncharitable criticism of Derrett nor the exuberant praises of K. A. Venkataraman. His reign had all the glory and misfortune which are to be expected in a growing empire. He earned glory when he could; he battled against heavy odds when he had to, and being no monarch of uncommon genius and ability, he succumbed when they overwhelmed him. The odds, which the Hoysaḷas had to face during this period, demanded a ruler of the calibre of Vīra Ballāḷa II. But Sōmēśvara was no Vīra Ballāḷa. He just fought gallantly to rise to the occasion — which should evoke our admiration — but failed. However, his failure was the failure of a hero, and there lies the greatness of Vīra Sōmēśvara.

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1. K. R. Venkataraman: *op. cit.*, p. 24.

VILLAGE AUTONOMY UNDER THE HOYSALAS

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I HAVE AN explanation to offer for presenting a paper on 'Village autonomy under the Hoysaḷas'. At the Vijayanagara History Seminar held last month at Hospet by the Karnatak University, in the discussion that followed the presentation of my paper on 'Local Self-Government in the Vijayanagara Empire', two questions arose, namely, first, whether there were elections and the representative idea and secondly, what changes happened from Hoysaḷa to Vijayanagara times.

This mini-paper consists of three parts. The first part gives in outline the organization and working of the village assembly under the Hoysaḷas. The second part refers to the conclusions which emerge from our study followed by answers to the questions raised at the Vijayanagara History Seminar.

Village assembly existed under the Hoysaḷas. Many terms are used in inscriptions to denote the village assembly, such as *Okkalu*,[1] *mahājanas*,[2] *halaru*,[3] *hadinentu Samaya*,[4] *Samudāya*,[5] *Samūha*[6] *and praje*.[7]

Inscriptions throw light on the village executive. An inscription from Ramathirtha (Belgaum district), of A.D. 1167 records that the *mahāprabhus*, of Ayagali, their 8 *hittus* and the subjects of the place donated a land grant to the Ramēśvaram temple. The eight *hittus* are said to be attached to their

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1. S.I.I., VII, No. 284.
2. *Ibid.*: IX (i), No. 48.
3. *Ibid.*: VII, No. 512.
4. E.C., XI, H.k., 137.
5. *Ibid.*: No. 242.
6. Desai: A Corpus of Inscriptions in the Kannada Districts of Hyderabad State, No. 7.
7. S.I.I., XI (i), No. 12.

prabhus (Aggaliya mahāprabhugaḷu tammentu hittum).[1] Again, an inscription in the temple of Somēśvara in Sōmanahaḷḷi (Kadur district) dated Śaka 1247 records that a goldsmith named *Māroja* gave a gift of land to the temple of Brahmēśvara out of the land which belonged to his *akkasaleya* or *hiṭṭu.*[2] *Hiṭṭu* in this connection means a profession. Inscriptions refer to the entire *hiṭṭu* which would mean the representatives of eight professions. In some inscriptions the *hiṭṭus* are twelve. It is reasonable to infer that the *hiṭṭu* functioned as an executive of the village assembly attached to the headman or *gāuṇḍa.* Other terms used for the *gāuṇḍa* are *prabhu,*[3] *pergade,*[4] *nāyaka,*[5] *mūliga* [6] and *prabhu gāuṇḍa.*[7]

The office of *gāuṇḍa* could be given by the inhabitants of the village. In A.D. 1388, according to a Bēlūr inscription *Bayiraṇṇa* was given the office *(gāuḍagoḍige)* by all the inhabitants of Bantanahaḷḷi. According to the inscription, Bayiraṇṇa had improved the village by building a tank at his own expense.[8] This office must have been given also to persons who distinguished themselves by public service. In this connection, reference may be made to two inscriptions, one from Haralakuṇṭe and the other from Honnayakere. According to the undated Haralakuṇṭe inscription, the people of a *nāḍu* in the Kolar district, granted the *svāmitana* (headmanship) together with the gift of some plots of dry land with the sowing capacity of one *khanduga* and the right to collect the revenue (specified).[9] According to the Honneyakere (Chitradurga district) inscription of A.D. 1307, the *Seṭṭiguṭṭas* of Arabala 70, the *paṭṭaṇasvāmis,* the temple priests and all the eighteen castes

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1. Panchamukhi : Karnatak Inscriptions, II, No. 24.
2. S.I.I., IX (i), No. 86.
3. E.C., VII, Dg. 3.
4. S.I.I., XI (i), No. 75.
5. *JBBRAS.*, X, pp. 175-176.
6. S.I.I., IX (i), No. 145.
7. E.C., VII, Ci. 72.
8. E.C., XV, Bl. 309.
9. M.A.R., 1925, p. 82.

gave a *śāsana* as follows ..... to Maragaruda of Honneyakere, we give the office of *nāḍheggade*.[1] We do not come across the system of election that prevailed under the Chōḷas or election as is understood now. It was by consensus that the appointment was made.

Inscriptions also refer to the meetings of the village assemblies from which we can infer that they functioned in a democratic manner. The terms used to denote that the assembly met are *neredu* and *Sabheya Samakshadalli*. Such terms as *anumatadinda*[2] and *odambaṭṭu*[3] denote that the assembly's consent was taken.

We can derive our knowledge of the corporate activities of the inhabitants by the numerous activities of the village assembly. It constructed and maintained temple halls, looked after public works, served as a bank, provided relief for the needy, made land gifts and also acted as a trustee.

The following findings emerge from our study of village administration based on clinching inscriptional evidence :

(1) Village assemblies functioned and flourished under the Hoysaḷas.

(2) The inhabitants of the village had a say in the appointment of their leader.

(3) Their approval was taken in making decisions.

(4) Their corporate activities are decisive proof of the large measure of autonomy that existed during the Hoysaḷa period. As G. S. Dikshit has said, " decentralization of authority was effected in order to get the advantages of delegation of power."[4]

Finally, let me try to answer the questions raised at the Vijayanagara History Seminar. On the question whether there were elections and the representative idea, it is clear from inscriptional evidence that the representative idea was there

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1. E.C., XI, Hk. 137.
2. *JBBRAS.*, X, p. 208.
3. E.C., III, Nj. 180.
4. Dikshit, G. S. : *Local Self-government in Mediaeval Karnataka*, p. 181.

under the Hoysaḷas. But there clearly was no election as under-hood now or as it was in vogue under the Chōḷas. Decisions were taken by consensus. In the Vijayanagara period also, the same system continued.

Regarding the changes that happened from Hoysaḷa to Vijayanagara times, so far as the *agrahāras* are concerned, under the Hoysaḷas, there is abundant evidence of the existence of a large number and their numerous activities. In the Vijayanagara empire, though there are references to the corporate activities of the people in the *agrahāras*, yet the *agrahāras* were not as numerous as under the Hoysaḷas.

QUALIFICATIONS OF MINISTERS UNDER HOYSALAS

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Introduction :

WRITERS ON POLITY of mediaeval Karnāṭaka have regarded the council of ministers as a vital organ of the body politic. The *Yaśaśtilaka*[1] of the 9th century A.D. maintains that there cannot be a kingdom with king alone, without any officials : so they have to be created as well as guarded. The *Mānasōllāsa*[2] of the 12th century A.D. tells us that the king should arrive at certain policies after consultations with his ministers. In the *Sūktisudhāraṇavam*[3] of the 13th century we are told that the king should consult his ministers if he intends doing things ; the king should not act alone ; if he acts alone it will be like driving a chariot on one wheel. In the following pages an attempt is made to highlight the qualifications that determined appointments of persons as ministers. The present study restricts itself to the period of the Hoysaḷa rule in mediaeval Karnāṭaka. Information for the present study is drawn from contemporary and near contemporary literary sources and lithic records of this region.

Qualifications of Ministers :

Works on polity lay down in great detail the qualifications of ministers. Sōmadēva in his *Yaśaśtilaka*[4] has stated that those alone who are in constant fear of their lives and who have no motives of self interest in deliberations deserve to be consulted by kings and certainly not those who are like leeches. Further, the author says that often the minister's position,

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1. *Yaśaśtilaka*, Bk. III, 23–26.
2. *Mānasōllāsa*, II, Vv. 52–59 and 697.
3. *Sūktisudhārṇavaṁ*, Vv. 5, p. 355.
4. *Yaśaśtilaka*, Bk. IV, 155–56.

understandably, is unenviable and he is bound to obey the king and follow his directions. But this, according to the author, might lead to his doing what is against the interests of the people. Under such circumstances, however, a conscientious minister would be an uncomfortable dilemma.

The *Mānasōllāsa*[1] prescribes the following qualifications for this exalted office. The person must be a native of the country, born of high family, far-sighted, wise, endowed with good memory, vigilant, eloquent, bold, intelligent, possessing enthusiasm and dignity, capable of endurance, pure in mind and actions, firmly devoted to the king, gifted with character, strength, health and high spirits, free from arrogance and fickleness, affectionate and one who would not have recourse to hatred even when offended by the king.

Mallikārjuna's *Sūktisudhārṇavaṁ*[2] tells the king that just as the youth of a poor, wealth of a miser and studies of a dullard are useless the kingdom itself becomes useless if administered by a foolish minister. Further the author maintains that a minister should be well acquainted with the fourfold policy[3] of the State and should not be the one who would advise his king to resort to the policy of *daṇḍa* (i.e., force) at the first instance.

The fact that generally the rulers of Karnāṭaka paid much attention to these qualifications while seeking man to occupy the high positions of ministers is amply borne out by epigraphs.

The Hoysaḷa records throw a flood of light on this aspect. A few instances of ministers may be noted. Chandramauḷi was a *Mahāpradhāna* (Minister) under Ballāḷa II. His position is vividly described in an inscription[4] dated A.D. 1181. A Brahman by birth, Chandramauḷi bore the burden of the administration of the kingdom. He was the son of Śaṁbhudēva and Akkavve. Chandramauḷi was a worshipper of Śiva and was well versed in logic, literature, *Bharataśāstra*, and various arts. He was faithful to his king. He was an eminent statesman

1. *Mānasōllasa*, II, Vv. 55–59.
2. *Sūktisudhārṇavaṁ*, Vv. 58, p. 364 and Vv. 73, p. 366.
3. *Sāma, dāna, bhēda* and *daṇḍa*.
4. E.C., II, Sb. 327.

and an abode of glory. Such a celebrated Chandramauḷi of great learning became a minister to Ballāḷa II as Brihaspati became the chief minister to Indra *(Varamantra śaktiyutā-nindraṅgentu bhās-va dbhruhaspati mantrīśvara nāda-nante viḷasad ballāḷadēva-vani patigi viśruta Chandramauḷi vibhudēśam mantriyādam)*. His wife Āchiyakka was a Jaina. Her charming beauty, conduct and devotion to Jaina faith are highly extolled. She caused Jaina temples to be built. Certainly, in all respects she was a fit companion to her exalted husband *Mahāpradhāna* Chandramauḷi.

An even more gifted minister was *Daṇḍanātha* Hulla. His descent and career are set forth in great detail in the Śravaṇabeḷgoḷa inscription[1] dated A.D. 1159 of the reign of Narasiṁha I and another inscription[2] found in the same place dated A.D. 1185 of the reign of Ballāḷa II. Hulla belonged to the Vāji family. He was the son of Jakkirāja and Lōkāmbika. He was the minister of king Narasiṁha I and served as *Bhaṇḍāri* (Treasurer). It is stated of Hulla that he was the equal of Yaugandharāyaṇa in the management of affairs and Brihaspati in knowledge of politics. *Sarvādhikāri* Hulla is said to have served under Vishṇuvardhana, the father of king Narasiṁha I. And during the reign of Ballāḷa II he was made *Hiriyabhaṇḍāri* (Senior Treasurer). General Hulla had thus the distinction of having served three successive Hoysaḷa monarchs. The record dated about A.D. 1159 devotes many lines to the praise of moral and religious excellences of Hulla. General Hulla took delight in restoring Jaina temples, holding assemblies for Jaina worship, making gifts to groups of Jaina ascetics and listening to the reading of the sacred Puranas. In this record it is said as to who can equal General Hulla-Rāja in meritoriousness.

Here it may be added that the rulers of Karnāṭaka used to put the members to tests and they were appointed and confided to only if they came out successfully in those tests. Mallikārjuna in his *Sūkti-sudhārṇavaṁ*[3] enunciates that only that

1. E.C., II, Sb. 345.
2. *Ibid.* : Sb. 349.
3. *Sūktisudhārṇavaṁ*, Vv, 51, p. 363.

person is fit to be appointed as a minister who is capable of setting right an ill-executed public work and overcoming temptation for other willing women; who is fearless of danger coming from the king even and who is unnerved by difficulties in realising tasks. An epigraph[1] dated A.D. 1136 reveals that *Daṇḍanāyaka* Vishṇu emerged perfect in the four tests of character.[2]

There are instances to show that during the period under review there prevailed to a certain extent the principle of hereditary ministership. The rulers selected sons and relatives of ministers while making new appointments to ministry, provided they possessed necessary qualifications for the same. *Vaḍḍārādhane*[3] a near contemporary work, there is a story which illustrates this practice. The story runs thus. A certain king called Atibala, after the death of his minister Sōmaśarma, made enquiries whether the deceased minister had sons to succeed to the office. After enquiry it was found that the minister was survived by two sons, Agnimitra and Vāyubhūti. Then the king summoned them to his court and examined their capabilities. But when the king found that they were utterly ignorant he sent them away declaring that ministership was given only to persons well versed in *Śāstras (Śāstraṅgaḷaṁ ballaṁgaṁ mantripadaviyuṁ bāḷumaṁ pratipathyumaṁ koṭṭudu)*. Further, it may be added here that Agnimitra and Vāyubhūti after several years of training and education were found fit and then appointed as ministers. Closely related to this principle of sons succeeding their fathers was the practice of ministership being given to members of families that had distinguished themselves in the services of the empire.

Inscriptions of the period under study bear testimony to the prevalence of these practices. A few instances may now be examined.

Daṇḍanāyaka Gaṅgarāja of the Kauṇḍiṇya *gōtra* was a great warrior-statesman who was at the meridian of his career

1. E.C., V, Bl. 17.
2. Loyalty, disinterestedness, continence and courage.
3. *Vaḍḍārādhane*, pp. 2–4.

about A.D. 1120 during the reign of Vishṇuvardhana. The history of *Daṇḍanāyaka* Gaṅgarāja's great family of hereditary soldier-statesmen of Brahman origin is narrated in considerable detail in the inscriptions[1] at Śravaṇabeḷgoḷa in the Mysore State. Gaṅgarāja was the third son of Ēcha who was patronised by Nṛipa-Kāma Hoysaḷa.[2] His noble character and unrivalled skill in war were devoted to the service of Vishṇuvardhana and brought him great fame. He seized Talakāḍu, took possession of Koṅgu, pulled out Chengiri by the strength of his arm, shook the power of the Chāḷukyas and drove back the Chōḷas. He was called *Svāmi-drōha-gharaṭṭa* i.e., a mill-stone to traitors to his Lord. How helpful he was to his lord, Vishṇuvardhana is thus poetically described: "As thunderbolt to Indra, as the plough to Balarāma, as the discuss to Vishṇu, as the spear to Subramaṇya, as the bow *Gāṇḍīv* to Arjuna even so, does Gaṅga conduct the affairs of king Vishṇu."[3] In another record[4] it is said that he was the raiser up of the kingdom of Vishṇuvardhana (*Vishṇuvardhana bhūpāla Hoysaḷa mahārājā rājya samuddharaṇa*). His generosity was equal to his valour. He was the chief promoter of the Jaina doctrine. From a close study of all the inscriptions referring to him one finds it obvious that Gaṅgarāja must have been a general and statesman of outstanding eminence.

Vishṇu or Biṭṭidēva of the Kāśyapa-*gōtra* was yet another distinguished warrior-statesman who was at the height of his career about A.D. 1136. The history of this great family of hereditary soldier-statesmen of Brahman origin is narrated in considerable detail in an inscription[5] dated A.D. 1136. Vishṇu was the most illustrious member of this distinguished family. He was the second son of Chinna Rāja *daṇḍādhīśa* and Chandale. The father Chinna-Rāja *daṇḍādhīśa* is himself praised as the one who bore the burden of king Ereyaṅga's territory. Vishṇu was

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1. E.C., II, Sb. No. 73, 240, 384.
2. E.C., II, Sb. No. 118.
3. E.C., II, Intro. p. 52.
4. *Ibid.*: Sb. 127.
5. E.C., V, Bk. 17.

growing with all indications of good qualities. As a reward to the household of a hereditary minister and a meritorious family king Vishṇuvardhana treating the boy Vishṇu like a son and his *upanayana* performed with great festivities *(antu samasta-guṇaṅgaḷuṁ odavaḷeyiṁ baḷevudum anvayāgata-pradhāna-santatiyuṁ tanage dharmana-santatiyuṁ emba bahumānadiṁ śrīmat-Kañchi-goṇḍa Vikrama-Gaṅga-Vishṇuvardhana-Dēvaṁ putra samānam āge kaikoṇḍu naḍapi mahōtsavadin upanayanōtsavaṁ tāne māde)*. And after seven or eight years of age[1] when Vishṇu had become proficient in the use of arms, the king obtained for him a virgin-jewel, the daughter of his chief minister, as a bride and himself took part in the marriage ceremonies. At the age of ten or eleven the boy having become as sharp as *kuśa* grass in intelligence, and perfect in the four tests of character, the king invested him with the title of *mahā-prachaṇḍa-daṇḍanāyaka* and made him *sarvādhikāri*. Vishṇu's noble character and unrivalled skill in war were devoted to the service of Hoysaḷa king Vishṇuvardhana and brought him great fame. *Mahāprachaṇḍa-daṇḍanāyaka* (also known as *Immaḍi Daṇḍanāyaka*) Vishṇu amply justified his patron's confidence in him by gaining important victories in the south with extraordinary skill and rapidity.

We have the history of Kēśiraja *chamūpati's* great family of hereditary soldier-statesmen narrated at length in an inscription[2] dated A.D. 1210. Kēśava *daṇḍanātha* was Vīra Ballāḷa's minister. He was a terror to the Māḷavas, a thunderbolt to the Chōḷas, and a submarine fire to the Varāḷa General. The epigraph further tells us that when the Hoysaḷa line began to rule then Kēśiraja's line also began. King Vinayāditya's councillor was the celebrated Rāma *daṇḍādhipa;* his son Śrīdhara *Daṇḍanātha* was king Ereyaṅga's favourite minister. Śrīdhara's sons Lord *(Vibhu)* Mallidēva *daṇḍanātha*, the Chief Councillor *(Sachivōttama) Dāma-rāja* and the Chief General *(mukhya-sēnādhipati)* Kēśavarāja were the three chief promoters

1. There might be exaggeration in making him so young.
2. E.C., V, Cn. 244.

of the kingdom of Vishṇuvardhana. Of them, Mallidēva *daṇḍanātha's* three sons, minister (*amātya*) Mādhava, minister Beṭṭarasa, and Dāma *daṇḍēśa* were the ministers who helped king Narasiṁha in subduing his enemies and freeing the land from them. To Beṭṭarasa and his wife Lakshmī were born Hariharadēva, Mādhava *Chamūpa*, Āchana *daṇḍanātha*, Dāvarasa, Kēśava *Chamūpa*, Mallappa and Māramayya. In King Ballāḷa's kingdom they were all distinguished for the highest merit, valour and learning. Hailing from such a renowned family Kēśava-*chamūpati* was the most distinguished minister. He encouraged learning by granting *agrahāras*, promoted public welfare by constructing tanks and tended the religious sentiments of the people by building temples. To him were born Ballāḷa *daṇḍēśa*, minister Mādhava and Beṭṭa *Sēnāni*. To Malla *Chamūpa*, the younger brother of Kēśava-*Chamūpa*, were born Dāvana *Daṇḍanātha*, Kēśava Dēva and Beṭṭa *Chamūpa*. *Daṇḍanāyaka* Kēśava enjoyed the greatest confidence of the king and held the position in the council of king Ballāḷadēva It is said of him that " what all the Generals said was as if written on water, what General Kēśiraja said was alone as if written on stone in king Ballāḷa's council." Kēśiraja *Chamūpati* took delight in building temples and causing tanks and making grants for their maintenance.

In the record[1] dated A.D. 1235 *Daṇḍanāyaka* Aḍḍāyada Harihara is introduced as that mighty emperor's (i.e,, Vīra Narasiṁharāya) hereditary minister *(Anvayāgata pradhānaṁ)*. The geneology of this renowned minister is given from the time of his grandfather, Chikka-Haḍevaḷḷam when the Hoysaḷa ruler Vishṇuvardhana Dēva bestowed on him emblems of royalty such as a splendid chariot, a palanquin, an embroidered betel-pouch, a throne with a large winged canopy and was proclaimed to be in truth the favourite of his Lord. Chikka Haḍevaḷḷam's son was Malleya-Nāyaka. Aḍḍāyada Harihara was the third son of Malleya-Nāyaka. The epigraph referred to above describes him as a head-jewel of ministers (*pradhāna*

1. E.C., III, Md. 121.

chūdārathnam) in business a Yōgandhara, expert in his king's business (*pati kārya durandharaṁ*), foremost among champions, brave in war, subduer of hostile forces, and a wishing-stone to his relatives. He was truthful, commanded immense wealth, bestowed gifts on Brahmannas, *gurus* and the wise. He made gifts to temples and for learning. He was the router of the Sēvuṇa army that was laying siege in the south.

In *Māhapradhāna* Sōma *Daṇḍēśa* we have still another example of families rendering loyal services to the imperial monarchs. An epigraph[1] dated A.D. 1276 refers to *Mahāpradhāna* Sōma *Daṇḍēśa* as chief among wise men, understanding the minds of the people, *gaṇḍa-peṇḍāra*, favourite of king Narasiṁha and a Dēvēndra of *daṇḍanāthas*. Then the record introduces the nephews of Sōma *daṇḍanāyaka*. Mallidēva *dannāyaka*, the first son of Sōma *Daṇḍēśa's* younger sister was the commander of the army who with his sword "put out the flames of the valour of hostile kings." His younger brother Chikka-Kētaya *Dannāyaka* was another powerful General whose might none could withstand and who was cherished like a son by king Narasiṁha.

We have one of the finest examples of ministers is Lakshma *daṇḍēśa*, the principal minister to king Vīra Ballāḷa. There are many interesting and instructive details of this distinguished minister in his *Vīra śāsana* recorded on[2] a pillar near the Hoysaḷēśvara temple at Haḷebīḍu dated about A.D. 1210. Lakshma *daṇḍēśa* was hailed as the founder of the greatness of king Ballāḷa and promoter of the king's prosperity. *Kumāra* Lakshma was king Ballāḷa's trusted minister and General, and cherished by him as his son

aramane toṭṭile negaḷv - ā
daram adu bāy-eṇṇe dādiyar ttanna-antaḥ-
puram ene Ballāḷa nṛipaṁ
poreda magaṁ kuvara Lakshma daṇḍādhīśaṁ

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1. *Ibid.:* Tn. 97.
2. E.C., V, Bl. 112.

Between servant and king there was no difference, the glory and marks of royalty were equal in both." *Kumāra* Lakshma devoted his wealth and life towards making gifts and securing victories for Vīra Ballāḷa. He was a learned man. "Of the sixty-four branches of learning there was not one of which he was ignorant: of only two things was he ignorant — how to say no to supplicants, and how to suffer defeat"—

aruvattu nālku - kaḷegaḷo-
l̤ariyada kaḷey illa kuvara Lakshma - chamūpaṇg
ariyaduv eraḍ oḷav iḷl-ena-
l̤ariyaṁ sōlt aṛiyan . . . . .

Always did Lakshma *daṇḍēśa* stand true to his word. "The word uttered by *Kumāra* Lakkaya was one single word, true and firm as letters engraved on stone; not like the speech of others resembling letters written on water".

Lakshma *daṇḍēśa* had received from king Ballāḷa the decorations of the *toḍar* and the *penḍer* (jewelled anklets) as tokens of the acceptance of the devotion to and complete understanding with his master. No-body else had thus been marked with approval. "He was thus both a hand mirror and a dagger to Ballāḷa Dēva." His wife was Suggala Dēvi, who also wore a *toḍar* on her left foot as a sign of devotion to her husband. Lakshma *daṇḍēśa* had a company of a thousand warriors vowed to live and die with him. He set up this *Vīra śāsana*, on which as evidence that Garuḍa alone was his equal in fidelity to his master, images of himself and of Garuḍa were equally engraved thereon. "While all the world was praising him as the founder of the greatness and increase of king Ballāḷa and the cause of his prosperity, - *daṇḍēśa* Lakshma, together with his wife, mounted upon the splendid stone pillar, covered with the poetical *Vīra-śāsana*, proclaiming his devotion to Ballāḷa, gave up life following that of his master." His thousand warriors in turn followed their master.

Conclusion:

Thus it becoms clear that the Hoysaḷa rulers like other rulers of Karnāṭaka took great care in appointing to the

council of ministers only men of learning and of distinguished qualities and those who belonged to families that had rendered yeomen service to the kingdom. The Hoysaḷas encouraged talented men by offering such high offices. That the Hoysaḷas could hold their sway over a large part of Karnāṭaka was largely due to loyal services of the well qualified and capable ministers.

LAND-OWNERSHIP IN THE HOYSALA PERIOD

—*Dr. G. R. Kuppuswamy*

1. Introduction:

OF THE VARIOUS problems connected with land-ownership[1] it is proposed to consider in the following pages the different forms of land-ownership which prevailed in Mediaeval Karnāṭaka. This is of particular significance here as there are some Hoysaḷa inscripitons throwing light on the problem.

Baden-powell[2] and Appadorai[3] have made a clear-cut distinction between common or joint-ownership and individual ownership, the two forms in which lands were held, the former being more known than the latter. In the case of regions with common ownership, the lands were held in common, the community having collective ownership. Varieties of this were possible. Very often arable lands were divided while the waste-land for grazing purposes was kept common. In the case of the other, that is, with individual ownership the different portions of the village were taken up or held separately or individually and there was no community of interest in the cultivated ones.

While it is not proposed to go into the question of individual ownership which may have existed side by side with the other forms of ownership[4] it is the common ownership which has attracted the attention of scholars and therefore deserves consideration. Fortunately a detailed study of some of the Hoysaḷa and other inscriptions has thrown sufficient light on this interesting problem.

2. Sub-divisions of Common Ownership:

On the basis of the study of the inscriptions it is possible to think of 3 further sub-divisions of common ownership[5] viz., (a) Complete ownership in common, (b) part (separation)

Rotation and part common and (c) part severalty and part common. While in the first category, the degree of control exercised by the community was almost complete, each member entitled to receive a share of the produce only and in the second, the community retained the right of periodical redistribution only, in the last instance the control of the community extended pasture-land only and the rest held by individuals according to some agreement.

The position may now be examined with reference to some select inscriptions belonging to Hoysaḷa rulers.

(a) *Common Ownership Complete :*

The best instance of the first category of common ownership i.e., complete ownership in common, is provided by the Hirenallur inscription of 1215.[6] It relates to a settlement between the *Brāhmins* of the immemorial *agrahāra* of Hirenallur in 1215. As the settlement runs, " of the 30 shares of wet-land under the Heggade tank in Tuyyalurkere all the money-rent and grain-rent belongs to the *Brāhmins* who hold these shares. The fixed-rent that is received from palace for the villages will be divided equally between the holders of sixty shares."

While the above inscription does not give a complete picture of all the conditions governing this sub-category of common ownership, a unique copper-plate inscription of 1106 belonging to Kadamba Tribhuvanamalla from Goa makes up the deficiency. It relates to the establishment of a *Brāhmin* settlement at Gōpaka of 12 families, belonging to various *gōtras*. As the stipulations of the settlement read " All the land and houses were to be treated as common property and income accruing therefrom was to be distributed equally among the 12 families. The sellers and purchasers of a part of it were to be liable to a fine of 500 coins. A member was entitled to his share so long as he remained in the settlement. In case he left the place, his portion was to be enjoyed by the rest and the deserter was liable to a fine if he claimed to his share. A new person can be accommodated in the vacant house with the consent of the residents in general and neighbours in particular ".[8]

It can therefore be concluded that common ownership in this respect was complete and no part of the property could be disposed of except under heavy penalty. Residential qualification was insisted upon and absentee landlordism was never tolerated. So too, a new entrant. Perhaps it was with the expectation of continued co-operation and to preserve the corporate atmosphere that the consent of all the residents and particularly of neighbours was insisted upon before a new person could be accommodated. More than anything else the principle of equal sharing of income or produce prevented the growth of proprietory interests though it might have killed the spirit of individual initiative and enterprise. An individual either fell or prospered with the community as a whole.

(b) *Part-rotation (Separation) and part combination or Tattu as the basis of distribution:*

Under this category each share-holder (or a group of share-holders) was allowed a certain portion of land to cultivate and enjoy the fruits thereof. Common tenure was retained in so far as the right of periodical redistribution and control over waste-land were concerned. Of course the same result was obtained by revising the original agreements to bring about a more equal distribution of land. Thus corresponding to the practice in Tamilnāḍ, such villages were divided into blocks or *tattus* to each of which shares were allotted. According to T. V. Mahalingam[9] such villages were called *Karai* villages. The system was known as *Karaiyīḍu* system. According to it, lands were divided into sorts, good, middling and bad and the share-holder received for cultivation a few strips of each of these for a period, after which, there was a redistribution. The principle of combining qualitative and quantitative elements must have prevailed in Karnāṭaka as well.[10]

The Turuvekere inscription of Hoysaḷa Vīra Narasiṁha III dated 1263[11] refers to the formation of the *agrahāra* of Turuvekere by dividing it into 95 shares and as per the agreement there were to be 8 blocks at the rate of 12 shares per block and each block was held responsible for either constructing new

tanks or maintaining existing ones. A number of regulations governing such points as tenants, cart-passages and water distribution have been mentioned. Before the division was actually made, all categories of land both dry and wet, were pooled together as well as tanks and ponds for equal division, each getting something of every variety of land. One of the interesting points in the agreement was that while constructing tanks care was to be taken to see that no loss or destruction was caused to the neighbouring block. Similarly for old tanks if *mēlankaṇa* was put nobody should object that it would lead to pressure of water. Regarding cart-passages in use, no obstruction was to be caused on the ground of disputed ownership of land over which the passage was made.

Two other instances, one from Karuvīdi[12] and another from Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa[13] may also be quoted. Even as in the case of Tamilnāḍ where there was a leader called *Karaikāran* over each *Karai*, there was a leader over each block or *taṭṭu*. His name had the suffix *daśaka*.

(c) *Part severalty and part common:*

Under this category came all instances in which each household had its allotted share which it enjoyed without any common control or regulations effected by common agreement. The best instance is provided by the permanent agreement entered into between the *Brāhmins* of Kuntanamaḍuvu dated 1291 and of the reign of Narasiṁha III. It refers to the distribution of shares in Kētankere, Ubbaravāṇi and other places.[15] The main object of this agreement, executed in the presence of the great minister Harihara Daṇḍanāyaka, was to prevent the land from going into the ruin[16] by effecting distribution. The agreement covering the villages of Kētanakere, Ubbaravāṇi, Pokkunda and Māvinakere divided the lands into 300 shares and the taxes settled at 300 shares were to be defrayed by *Brāhmins* themselves.[17] It was however the responsibility of the *Mahājanas* to look after the watchman's fees, fines, faults and troubles from *bēḍars* and robbers over which the *Brāhmins* were not to worry.[18] The interesting part of the agreement

related to the settlement of water disputes as well to ensure equal distribution and prevent wastage.[19] The settlement had a laudable object, viz., to assure that the share-holders might construct tanks, channels in their respective villages, establish gardens and live in peace.[20] It is a very interesting instance of peaceful co-existence and corporate life. Safeguards such as prevention of separation, alteration or exchange of shares, easily identifiable boundary-marks etc., were provided for in the record itself.

A second instance is connected with the creation of *Śivapura* belonging to the reign of Veeraballāḷa II[21] dated 1185. It refers to the formation of 34 shares granted to Vīraśaivas including women. The inheritance is restricted to female heirs only, provided they are *bhaktas*.[22] A clearer illustration of separateness is provided by a record issued by Hoysaḷa Narasiṁha II in 1226 which speaks of an agreement between the *Mahājanas* of Lakshmīnarasiṁhapura.[23] The only common hold relates to the issue to *Uṇḍige* or free permit. The cultivators were permitted to construct tanks and carry on cultivation in the spots assigned separately in accordance with such permits. They were free to plant gardens.[24]

Two other instances of agreement, the one between the *Brahmins* of Mallikārjunapura in 1231[25] and of Vijayagōpalapura (Ignasante) in 1324[26] will suffice to illustrate the above point of separateness.

REFERENCES

1. For instance the other problems relate to types, succession, settlement of disputes, trustees and leases. The general question of land-ownership itself has engaged the attention of the scholars, particularly regarding the claimants. The most considered view seems to be that no private individual could hold land as a matter of — absolute right. The state had always the last word to say in this matter. In other words though individuals had wide powers of enjoyment and disposition, the ultimate owner was the sovereign. One may go a step further

and say that individual ownership was just a lease or tenure for 999 years with the right of the state to acquire it at any moment. The question has been ably discussed in some of the following works — (a) Maity S. K., *Economic Life of Northern India in Gupta Age*, 1967, pp. 11–28. (b) Ghoshal U. N., *The Agrarian System of Ancient India*, 1929, Lecture V, pp. 81–103. (c) Gopal, L., *Economic Life of Northern India*, 1965, pp. 1–31. (d) Adhya, *Early Indian Economics*, pp. 25–30. (e) P. V. Kāne, *History of Dharmasastras*, II (ii), pp. 865–869. (f) Appadorai, *Economic Conditions of Southern India*, I, pp. 99–121. (g) Gupta, K. M., *Land System in South India*, Chapter IV.

2. To quote Baden-Powell on Joint-Villages "It is not at all necessary that the joint-village should be actually held undivided. In some cases it is so held — but in the majority of cases there is a complete separation of the individual or household holdings .... very often arable is divided and the waste not, either because it is more conveniently kept as common grazing ground, or it is not yet wanted for extension of cultivation". *The Indian Village Community*, p. 22.

3. Appadorai's views on joint villages are as set out below — "In a joint-village the right of land is held in common. Varieties of this are possible and many exist together. In general, the community has collective ownership over the whole or part of the village." *Economic conditions of Southern India*, I, p. 124.

4. See Altekar, *History of the Village Communities in Western India*, Bombay, 1927, p. 80 ff. for the rather one sided view that the ownership of the lands in Western India was vested in peasant proprietor or the tenure of land throughout Deccan or Karnāṭak was *Ryotwari* one. While sufficient epigraphical evidence is lacking to substantiate the view of the learned scholar, it cannot be totally discarded as unsound. As will be seen below, there seems to have been a tendency even in joint-ownership villages in Karnāṭaka towards greater independence in the distribution of holding, or one may say that there is gradual evolution of the idea of Peasant proprietorship noticed in such villages. Similarly, the innumerable grant

of *Koḍagi* lands testify to the existence of individual ownership along with the other system.

5. This classification follows that of Appadorai. See his *Economic Conditions of Southern India*, I, p. 125. See Mahalingam, T. V., *South Indian Polity*, p. 360. According to him *gaṇabhōgaṁ* falls into almost the same three clases viz., (a) complete and unlimited ownership of the community. (b) Part-individual and part-common. (c) *Karaiyīḍu* lands based on qualitative division of lands into blocks. Karnāṭak inscriptions refer to *tattus*, an important addition to the above classification. See Gupta, K. M., *Land System in South India*, Chapter III, Section 2, p. 63 ff. for his classification of such lands into *Samudāyaṁ Karaiyīḍu* and *Palabhōgaṁ* which roughly correspond to the classification discussed above. Reference is made to *Ēkabhōga* also called *Yajamāna grāma*.

6. E.C., VI, Kd. No. 132, p. 118 (Text), p. 255 (Trans.). The inscription does not mention the ruler's name but classed under Hoysaḷas. To quote the appropriate lines of the text. *Śrīmat anādiyagrahāra hiriyaṇallūr aśēṣa mahājanangaḷu tuyyalūra parivartaneya kāladalli māḍida śilā śāsana kramaventendade heggaḍeya kereyoḷagaṇa nīrumaṇṇolagāgi tuyyalūrkere mūvattu vrittiya mahājanangalige alliya suvarṇāyava bhattāya tejōpārchaneya sakalavuṁ baṭṭeyūra mūvattu vrittiya mahājanangaḷige saluvudu araṇmaneyim banda eraḍūra siddāya ēnu kūḍiyaravathu vrittiya sariyāgi teruvaru/chakravartiya nallūradhikāriyaṁ yāravarigēna koṭṭaḍaṁ aravattu mahājanangaligum sariye kramadiṁ parivartane dhāreyāgi druva uṇḍige yāgi tōṭangala nikkuvantāgi . . . battayūringala tuyyalūra keregam hola vāra kavila phalava mēyisalāgadu.*

7. E.I., XXX, No. 15, pp. 71–77.

8. To quote the text . . . . *phalam vibhājya bhōktavyam/ kṣētraṁ sādāranaṁ sadā sādāraṇatvāt kṣētrāṇām grihāṇām dānavikriyau kurvan = pancha sataṁ daṇḍyāgrihṇaṁ . . . asvāmika = griha(he) sarvaih sthāpita abhyāgatō vaset pārśvasta grihasammatya . . . .*

9. See T. V. Mahalingam, *South Indian Polity*, p. 360.

10. See below.

11. E.C., XII, Tp. No. 2, p. 117 (Text), p. 42 (Trans.). Text —*Sarvajna Śrīvijaya narasimhapuravāda turuvekereya Śrīmad aśēsa mahājangaḷutammōḷu saraikyamatyavagi . . . āturuve kereya samastahalligaḷa baddalegaḷu sarvavuṁ samavāgi enṭu tattu māḍi tattondakke vrithi hanneraḍara mariyādeyali* (here follow details of blocks) *tamma tamma tattinalliya kiru kaṭṭegaḷuṁ gūḍeya gaddegaluṁ koḍagi baṇṭu maṇṇa . . . hecchu kundugaḷuṁ āyalliya āgāmigaḷa ksetrangaḷu vokkalugaḷa āda daṇḍadōṣangaḷuṁ tamma tammadu bhūmi gaḷa voḷage āhantaha gaddegaḷu hosatāgi kattuvantaha kaṭṭegaḷanu tātāvāge āgumāḍi kombaru/hosatāgi katte kirukattengala kaṭṭuvalli mattobbara tattina kṣetrakke hāniyāgada āhange voḍambaḍisi kattuvaru/haḷeyakeregaḷige mēlankaṇavanikkisuvaḍe nīruvottihadendubēda vendenalagadu/purvadaluḷḷa bhaṇḍidāri vōṇigaḷalli yemma bhūmi tamma bhūmi yendu nadeyalīyavendenalāgadu/tamma tamma kṣētragalolagaṇa māvu huṇisegalu tamma tammavu.*

12. E.C., XII, Tp. No. 83. The *Mahajanas* of karuvīdi after pooling together the lands of Halliyur and Hiriyur, had them divided into 125 shares and grouped them into parts. Each part was required to construct its own tanks and ponds and each village had its own customary boundary.

13. E.C., III, Sr. No. 64. This is an instance of equal division based on quality. 112 *vrittis* of land were redistributed in such a way that each had a share of the best middling and inferior soil.

14. The inscription from Kuṇṭanamaḍuvu examined under the third category below has references to this term.

See E.C., VI, Tk. No. 55, p. 444 (Text), p. 113 (Trans.). To quote *Pokkunda māvinakereyalli kētanekereyalli ninda susvara paṭṭavardhanara daśaka vondu kurugōḍu āchaṇṇangaḷa daśaka ondu.* See p. 129, Dikshit, G. S., *Local Self-Government in Mediaeval Karnātaka* for a similar instance from Tumbula grāma (Advani, Kurnool) bordering Karnāṭaka. Another inscription from Muroor, Gokarna Taluk, N. K. District refers to the division of land in units of 10 shares – E.I., XIII, No. 28, pp. 157–163. Also cf. Baden-Powell, *The Indian Village Community*, p. 24. He refers to a system in Punjab under

which a village is divided into a number of *pattis* and over each section there is a *lambardar*, or the holder of a number. He says in a foot note (2 p. 24) that number refers to the Collector's list of village land-holders with a serial number attached to each name. The Moghul records skeake of *muccāḍam*. It seems, therefore, that this practice of having a head over each block of land was not peculiar to South India but of old all-India character, evomtionery in nature. Unfortunately the functions of such leaders are not clear from each records.

15. E.C., VI, Tk. No. 55, p. 444 (Text), p. 113 (Trans.).

16. *araivarillade kiḍutiddaḍe.*

17. *antu vrittimunūru aramaneyim banda sollamebitti purvāya munnūru vrittiya baliyoluhacchi yati vrithiya baliyalu tiruvaru.* This has reference to taxes such as forced labour *(Sollama bitti)* and former taxes *(pūrvāya)* and new taxes *(apūrvāya)* which are decided and settled at 300 shares. Regarding *Kirukuḷa* also it seems that the *Brāhmins* had to pay it separately and should not treat it as a part of land-revenue (i) and deduct it from *Siddāya* as fixed rent, payable to State. To quote the text–*arasina deseya kirukulaabhyagatiya ādhya paripantane munurvaradu bhūimiya bhāgavendu siddhyāva hidiyalāgadu.*

18. *āvāva sthalada dandadōṣa taḷārike bēḍara ko kallara bādhe a sthalada mahājanangaladallade munuravara kārana villa.* Evidently it was the responsibility of the local authorities, namely the *Mahājanas* to protect the share-holders and their lands from such unforseen calamities.

19. For instance, the Brahmins of the village of Pokkunda, Mavinkere and Kotanakere, where 61 shares belonging to individuals (Specified) are located, should not draw and utilize water by lifting sluice-gate of Basavayya tank beyond 61 shares. To quote *antu vrittiaravattondara mahājanangaḷu basavayyana kere nīra tūbanetti harisikollade aravattondu vrittige niluvaru.*

20. Text — *munūrvaru tamma tamma haḷḷiyalu kerekāluve kaṭṭiṭōta tudikeyanikki sukhadim bāḷvantāgi māḍida sameyaśāsana*

21. M.A.R., 1933, No. 48 and. E.C., III, Md. No. 62.

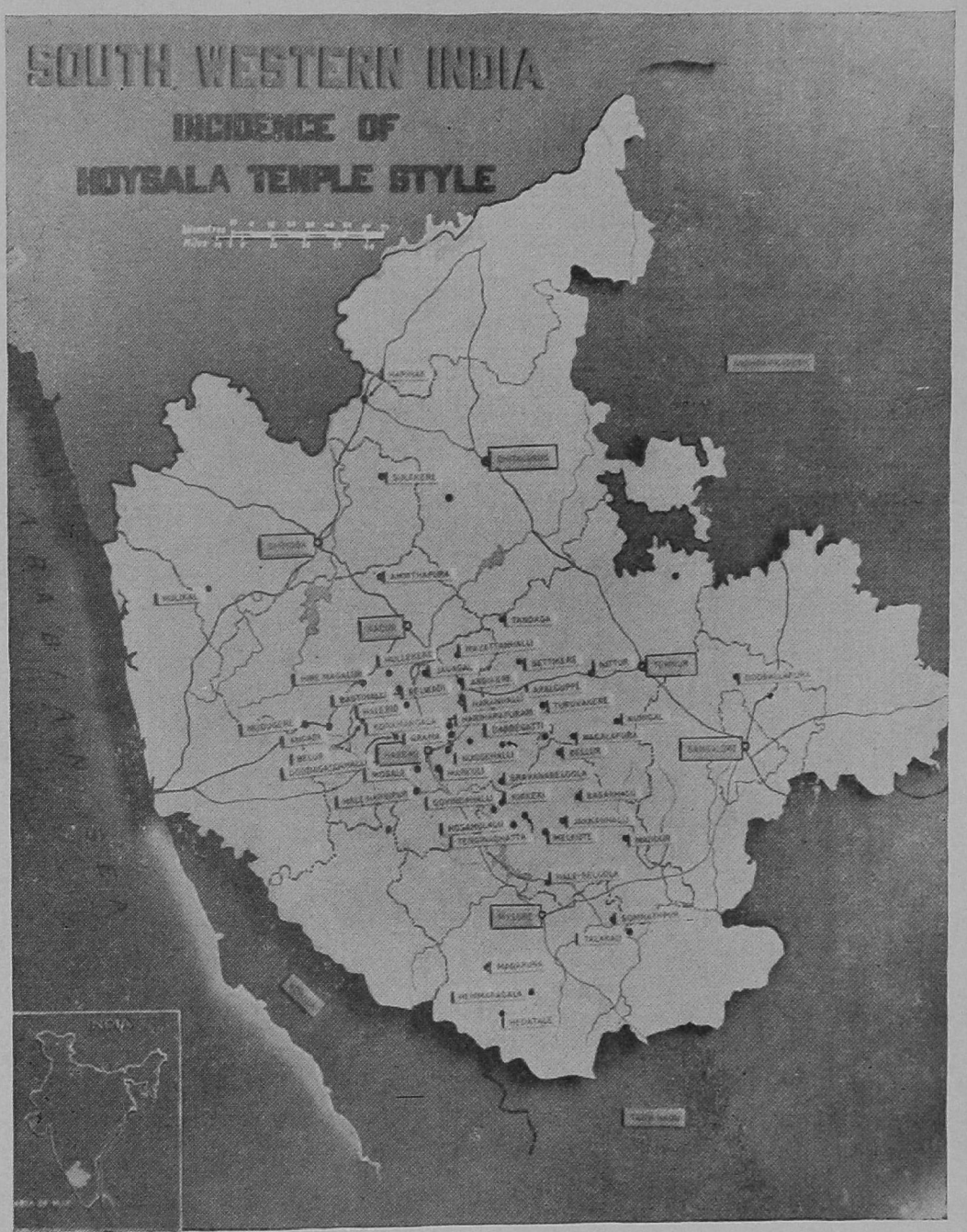
22. Text — *Vrittiyanu vrittivantara heṇṇu makkḷu heṇḍiru tottina makkaḷu bhaktarāgi anubhavisuvaru.*

23. M.A.R., 1931, No. 59, p. 168.

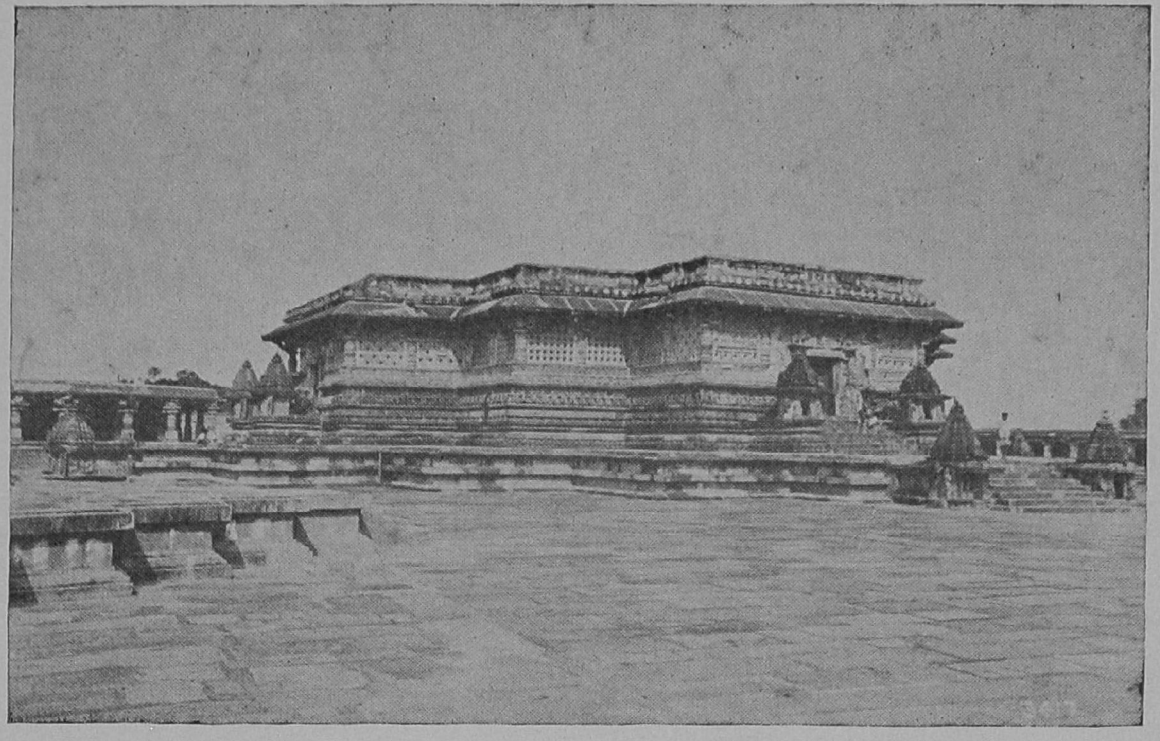
24. *Śrī Lakshmīnarasimhapurada aśēṣa mahājanangalu mahāsabheyāgi neredu māḍida sameyaventendaḍe, puratigeya bhāgu bāhubali kumāranahaḷḷi tenkaturainti nisariliyaṁ pratipratti vibhāgam madiyikkida uṇḍige druva vunḍige tāva tāvāge vyavasāyavaṁ māḍidaḍe śradhyā pattiya māḍalāgadu.*

25. E.C., VII, Cn. No. 170. According to the record, the *Brāhmins* of Mallikārjunapura, who, considering that the former division of land was unequal got all the wet and dry lands measured again, and agreeing among themselves on the principle that all were equal and should share alike, made a permanent settlement. The shares were 158. To quote the text *Śrīmat anādiyagrahāram Śrī Mallikarjuna puravāda diṇḍigūrada aśēṣa mahājanangaḷu munnina vibhhāgavu samavallendu madhyastharindaṁ halligala boddalanaḷasi tammōlekamatyavāgi iccha vrittiyāgi nindu kramaventendaḍe* (Shares of villagers mentioned. The inscription further states that the settlement should be treated as permanent and not transferred at any cost or that the shareholders should not find another excuse in natural calamities for redistribution.) To quote further—"*Pariya āicchā pūrvakavāgi chandrārkatārambaraṁ nischayavagi nindavara āhaḷḷigaḷige manneyaru daivakarāṭa vikarabādheyādaḍoṁ matte samavallendu arisalāgadu āva haḷḷiyalu āvanādaru krayadanavaṁ koṇḍadam saluvudīyarthava naḷiyalāgadu.*

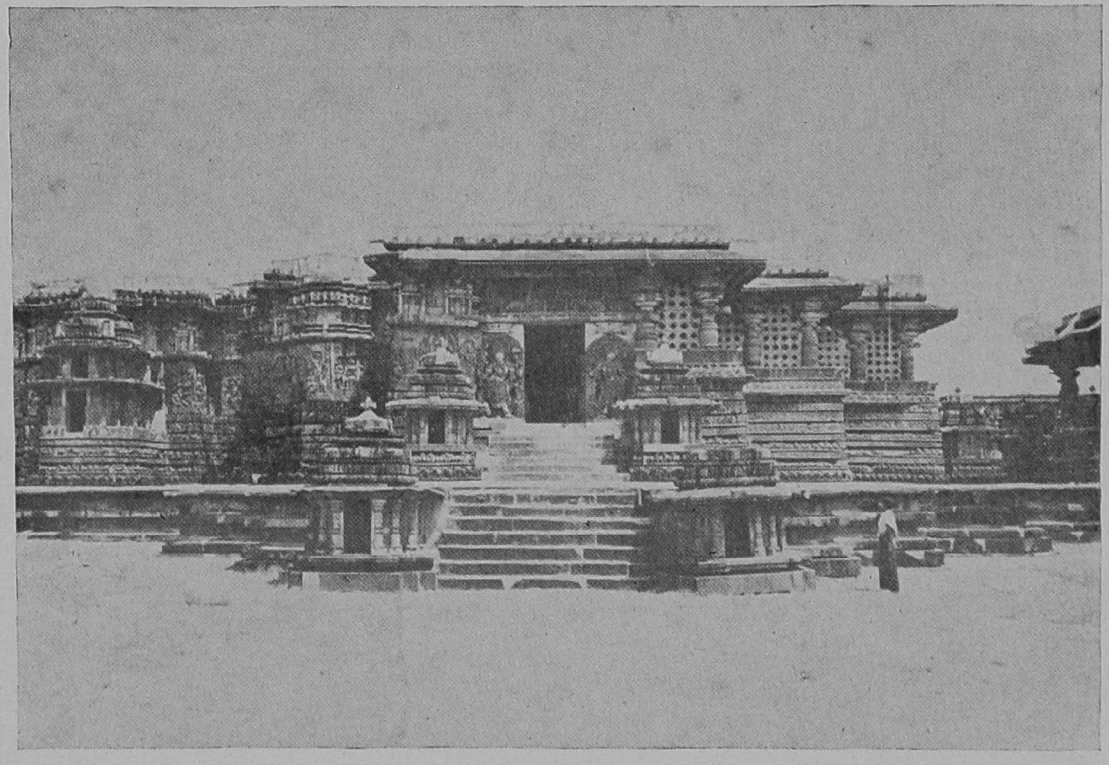
26. E.C., XII, Tp. No. 41. The inscription refers to the division of Nirgundu Village on a permanent contract basis. There are altogether 100 shares divided into 4 *tattus* or blocks. Of the two interesting things in the record one is that the former rights of each village and families living therein are fully protected and belonging to the shareholders and the *tattu* in which it is included. Evidently the families here refer to *okkalu* or tenants and it seems further from the record that the *okkalu* came on contract basis and they were attached to the respective *tattus* to which they belonged. While such families were allowed to stay on or leave for another block, the loss or gain was put equally on the share-holders themselves, of the respective *tattus*.



Reference of Hoysala Temple Style



Sri Keshava Temple, Belur
Hassan District

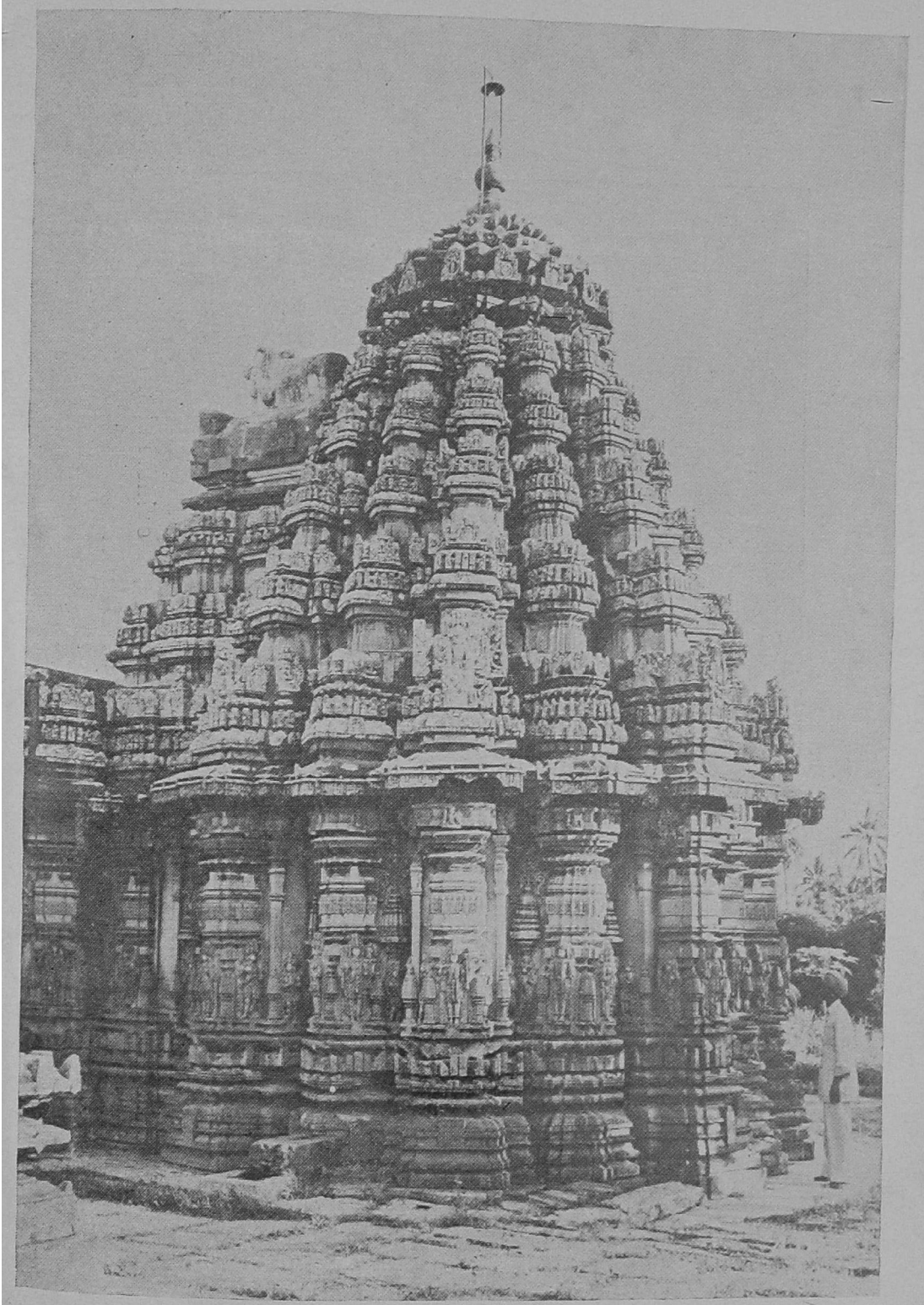


South Entrance, Hoysaleswara Temple, Halebid
Hassan District

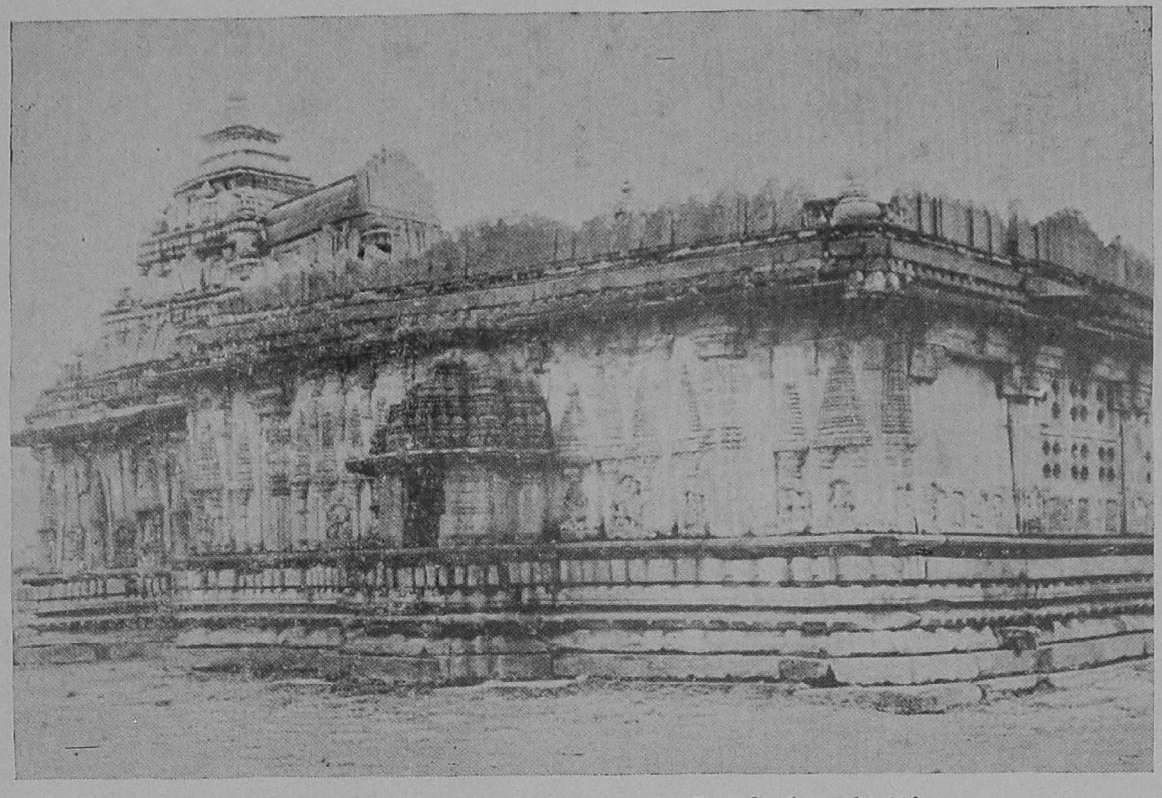
Vimana and Doorway, Keshava Temple
Somanathapur, Mysore District

Kirtinarayana Temple, Talkad
Mysore District

Lakshmidevi Temple, Doddagaddavalli
Hassan District



Vimana, Iswara Temple, Arasikere
Hassan District



Panchalingeswara Temple, Govindanahalli
Mandya District

ORGANISATION OF TRADE AND COMMERCE IN THE HOYSAḶA PERIOD

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TRADE AND COMMERCE contribute, in a large measure, to the prosperity of the society. In fact, internal peace and security, means of communication, availability of raw as well as finished products, organised trading communities, easy and intelligible means of exchange and the royal patronage contribute largely to the development of trade. Many grants of the Hoysaḷa period throw some light on trade and commercial activities of the age. Indeed they are our sole guide to understand and appreciate the conditions of trade and commerce. In this paper it is intended to examine, the means of communication, the availability of the raw as well as finished products, the enterprising spirit and the organisation of the merchant class, the far off places with which they had trade contact, the articles of trade, the royal patronage extended to the merchants and the contribution of the merchant class to the prosperity of the society.

The Hoysaḷa kingdom roughly corresponded to the modern Mysore state excepting a few districts in the north, although the dynasty exercised its authority over greater region at times. Judged from the medieval standpoint, there were numerous roads connecting together the different parts of the kingdom and the business centres. The main trade routes ranked along the west-coast touching the important harbour towns like Honnāvara and Bhatkal. In the plain country the main east-west trade route was from Kāñchī in the east-coast through Nangali on the border of Kolar and further west through Chickanāyakanahaḷḷi to Arasikere, Bēlūr, Angadi and touched the west-coast near Mangalore. The other east-west

road from Honnāvar connected Banavāsi, Belligāme, Bankapura and Uchchangi. From the north to the south an important high way ran from Dēvagiri to Kalyāni and southwards to Nidugal, Dōrasamudra, Channarayapatna, Sravanabeḷagoḷa, Tondanūr, Śriraṅgapaṭṭaṇa, Talakād and to the south Bēlūr, Dōrasamudra, Arasikere and Sravanabeḷagoḷa occupied a central place commanding the trade routes. Much of the foreign trade passed through Dōrasamudra to the Tamilnad. The traders of the period found in the Hoysaḷa country greater facilities and communications and happily recorded that "from Yojana to yojana there were groves and rest houses for traders and travellers and the Hoysaḷanāḍ shone as an abode of Manoja."[1]

Another important factor that contributes to the development of trade is the availability of the raw as well as finished products. A closer study of the inscriptions reveal that the soil was rich and produced abundant crops. The Hoysaḷa territory consists of the valleys of the three main rivers, the Krishna in the north, the Tuṅgabhadrā in the middle and the Cauvery in south. These main rivers and their tributaries afford greater facilities for cultivation from the early days. As the soil was fertile, the agricultural out-put was immense. This fact is reflected in a number of inscriptions. A grant of Belligāme in Shikaripur Taluk describes that "Kunthala which is an ornament of Bharatha is filled with prosperous people, abundance of flowers, agreeable occupations splendid streams and tanks."[2] There was surplus of food grains and other agricultural products as revealed by many grants of the period.

In addition to agriculture people engaged in different occupations. Several of the grants make mention of the various occupational taxes like *Kumbaradere* (pottery) *sadadere* (spinning) *maggadere* (weaving) *bannige* (dying) *ganadere* (oil extracting) *medadere* (basket making) and *aledere* (preparing jaggery out of sugarcane).[3] It may be deduced that the industries like

1. E.C., V, Ak. 82.
2. E.C., VII, Sk. 197.
3. E.C., V, Hn. 119, E.C., III, Hs. 137, E.C., XII, Kg. 1.

spinning, weaving, dying, oil extracting and preparing sugar and jaggery out of sugarcane were thriving and provided vast scope for trade and commerce.

The traders had formed their own guilds. By far the biggest of the trading associations of the period was the "Five Hundred of Ayyāvoḷe." Several grants of the 12th and 13th centuries throw light on the enterprising as well as liberal outlook of the members of this trade organisation.[1] The Five Hundred of Ayyāvoḷe included the different groups of merchants classified as per the nature of their trade such as *gavaregalu, gatrigaru, settiyaru, beravanigarum, gandigaru, gavundaru* and others. They describe themselves as the followers and protectors of Vīrabaṇanjadharma and worshippers of Brahma, Vishṇu and Mahēśwara. The traders also call themselves as the Nānādēśis and the obtainers of the boon from the goddess Bhagavathi of Ayyāvoḷe.

The merchants of the organisation carried extensive trade not only with all parts of India but also with far off countries. The names of countries which they used to visit along with their articles are categorically recorded in the Baḷḷigāme record. They maintained steady trade contact with Chēra, Chōḷa and the Pāndya countries in the south, the Malayan Archipelago in the east, Maghada, Kōsala, Kuru, Kāmbōja, Sourashtra and Nēpāla in the north, Persia and Arabia in the west. They used to visit invariably all the important towns and cities which were famous in those days as centres of trade and commerce and were called variously *grāma, nagara, kheda, kharvada, madamba* and *paṭṭaṇa*. They employed ox-drawn carts, donkeys, horses and elephants for the inland transportation of goods. For purposes of safety they travelled in groups and always carried weapons like swords, axe, bow and arrow. It is worthwhile to note that these traders reached the far off countries like Persia and Arabia in the West and the Malayan Archipelago in the East (Jalamargadium shatkhanda mandalamam pokku) on the seas by ships. This fact is further

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1. E.C., VII, Sk. 118.

supported by an inscription discovered in Sumatra as well as the temple of Vishṇu built by these merchants which was in a flourishing condition in 13th century.[1]

These merchants carried trade in a variety of articles.[2] They used to buy and sell costly as well as precious articles like saphires, moonstones, pearls, rubies, diamonds, lapislazule, topaz, carbuneles, coral, emeralds and gold. Since these merchants were experts in testing precious gems they were consulted by many rulers. Most important among the articles of export to far off countries were cardamoms, cloves, sandal, camphor, musk, saffron, perfumes and drugs. Some of these merchants used to purchase superior elephants from the places of availability and sold them to the rulers of different territories.

As a result of the Chōḷa occupation of Gangavādi prior to the advent of Vishṇuvardhana the Tamil merchants established close trade contact with the southern part of Karnāṭaka. Some of them came and settled in the Hoysaḷa country.[3] They are described as the *ubhaya nānādēśis* of Malayala and obtainers of boon from Bhadrakali. A certain Kunjunambi seṭṭi who was the head of the *Ubhaya nānādēśi* merchants enjoyed the confidence and favour of Vīra Ballāḷa II. He is described as a great merchant who supplied the wants of Kalinga, Malva, Chōḷa and Pāndya Kings. Another merchant by name Dāmōdara seṭṭi became famous in testing goods and animals.[4]

There were other eminent local merchants other than the members of the *Ubhaya nānādēśis* and the Five Hundred of Ayyāvoḷe. During the reign of Vīra Ballāḷa II the two brothers Chatta Seṭṭi and Dāsa Seṭṭi of *Bānāvara* in Arasikere Taluk engaged in extensive trade.[5] Chatta Seṭṭi imported wellbred horses perhaps from Persia and Arabia and sold them to the

1. A History of South India (III Ed.), p. 332.
2. E.C., VII, S.K., 118.
3. E.C., X, K.L., 131 ; E.C., V, Ak. 108.
4. The Half-yearly Mysore University Journal, Vol. II, No. 2, 1928, pp. 223.
5. E.C., V, Ak. 22.

rulers of different states. He was also engaged in buying and selling elephants and exported them to far off countries. Dāsa Seṭṭi is described as proficient in examining precious gems. He transported goods of the east to the west and those of the south to the north.

The important towns of the period Dōrasamudra, Bēlūr, Arasikere, Śravanabeḷagoḷa, Talkād, Banavāsi, Belligāme, Hanugal, Uchchangi and other places were the centres of trade and commerce. In these towns there lived flourishing community of local merchants dealing in several articles like rice, maize, sugar, betelnuts, betel leaves, mangoes, oranges, salt, turmeric, cloves, oil, cotton, yarn, cloth, bangles and other day-to-day articles of life.[1] In many of these towns there were separate streets consisting of shops of different articles. The jewel merchants of Śravanabeḷagoḷa had their shops in a separate street. There was the practice of naming the shops after the important persons and royal members of the period like Bammala Dēviyarangadi, Kēthaladēviyarangadi, Boppaladevanabasadiyangadi and Chandramauliyannanangadi in Dōrasamudra.[2] Arasikere was a flourishing centre of commerce and trade in those days and it has been described in several inscriptions as the southern Ayyāvoḷe, Abhinava Dōrasamudra and the chief place for both sects of the *nānādēśis* and its wealth surpassed that of Kubera.[3]

Apart from the important towns and cities which flourished as the centres of trade there was the wider scope for village markets. In almost all the important villages fairs were held, the vestages of which phenomena could be seen even today throughout Karnāṭaka. The establishment and management of fairs in the rural area was considered as an act of merit and we come across several instances wherein the members of the royal family as well as the *Paṭṭaṇaswāmis* and *maṇḍalaswāmis* together with the royal officials engaged in establishing fairs.[4]

1. E.C., V, Hn. 144, Ak. 71 ; E.C., VII, Sk. 118.
2. E.C., VI, Tk. 45.
3. E.C., V, Ak. 71, 77, 79.
4. E.C., XI, Dg. 105 ; E.C., XII, T. 43 ; E.C., IV, Ng, 47.

The village fairs provided a good deal of opportunity to the local producers to sell their articles and to buy their requirements. The fairs played a unique role in the realm of trade in those days providing an easy means of contact between the buyers and sellers.

Royal patronage was an essential factor for the sound commercial activities. Since trade and commerce yielded good revenues to the royal treasury the rulers were anxious to increase the volume of trade by extending patronage. The Hoysaḷa kings took keen interest in this behalf. The rich and honest local merchants were appointed and honoured as mayors of towns and governors of districts. A rich merchant Hoysaḷa seṭṭi was the *Paṭṭaṇaswāmi* of the capital Dōrasamudra. Mechiseṭṭi was the *Paṭṭaṇaswāmi* of Beḷḷigāme in 1181.[1] The *māhāvadda Vyavahāri* Kammatamalla Setti was the governor of a large district during the reign of Vīra Ballāḷa II.[2] The merchants from the other states also enjoyed the patronage of the Hoysaḷa rulers. A grant of 1234 A.D. records that a famous merchant Dāmōdara Setti of Kērala was highly honoured in the Hoysaḷa country.[3] We do not come across a single instance wherein the merchants tried to evade the payment of taxes. On the other hand the merchants are described in many grants as the strict observers of *Vīrabanañja dharma* and as the contributors to the prosperity of the rulers by filling the royal treasury through regular payment of taxes.

Another remarkable fact is that merchants of the period were renowned for their charitable deeds. "The accumulated wealth should be spent in erecting temples and constructing tanks" was the ideal of the period.[4] Construction of temples and tanks was regarded as an act of great merit in medieval times. In accordance with this ideal the rich merchants erected a number of temples and endowed them liberally. In 1154 the merchants of Beḷḷigāme repaired the Nakharēśwara temple and

1. E.C., VIII, Sk. 119.
2. E.C., VII, Sk. 247.
3. E.C., V, Ak. 82.
4. E.C., V, Hn. 76.

resolved that the property of those who die without children should go to that temple for the maintenance and repairs.[1] Further, whenever a temple was constructed by a person, the merchants voluntarily came forward to make liberal grants not only for the decoration and maintenance of the temple but also for the free distribution of food to the ascetics, the pilgrims, the poor and the disabled, belonging to *Chaturvarna*.[2] Likewise, the merchant community also constructed a large number of tanks. A grant of Arasikere Taluk informs us that a rich merchant of the place Chattisetti repaired the tank of Bānāvara and constructed three new tanks.[3] In 1200 A.D. certain Mahadēvasetti constructed the Gattiganakere tank in Tiptur Taluk.[4] Another grant of Nanjangud Taluk informs us that the *Paṭṭaṇaswāmi*, Soviseṭṭi constructed three tanks in 1178 A.D. in different places.[5] We come across such innumerable examples illustrating the keen interest evinced by the merchant class towards the welfare of the society.

It may be concluded that trade and commerce flourished very well in the Hoysaḷa period. The merchant class of the time evolved an ethics of their own. The payment of taxes was not evaded and the state dues were promptly paid. They followed a code of conduct of their own which was called "Vīrabanjadharma" or the high code of commercial conduct. The merchant community was a well-knit together section of the society and uniform pattern of behaviour was adopted, with the result that any one who dared to flout the accepted principle either in dealings with the state or with the consumers was looked down upon. In the medieval period the Indian society had already become isolationist and its contact with the outside world was almost shrinking. At such a period it was only the merchant class that formed the link between India and her neighbouring countries. The country stood to a lot of gain

1. E.C., VII, Sk. 118.
2. E.C., II, Sb. 327 ; E.C., V, Ak. 79 ; E.C., XII, Ck. 21, Tp. 43.
3. E.C., V, Ak. 22.
4. E.C., XII, Tp. 123.
5. E.C., IV, Nj. 70.

through the enterprising spirit of these merchants who not only built up trade contact but also promoted the salient features of Indian art and culture. The merchants of the Hoysaḷa Kingdom had maintained close commercial contact with the south and south-east Asia which brought immense wealth to the country. Again, this prosperity was not confined to the personal enjoyment of the merchant class only, but was shared in a large measure with others through the philanthropic activities. The commercial class involved itself fully in the reconstruction of the society as well, apart from making profit for themselves. This fact is well established as we have numerous inscriptions indicating the charity of the merchants. They bestowed grants generously on the construction of the temples and tanks and feeding the poor and the needy and on the promotion of learning.

THE CURRENCY SYSTEM AND COINS OF THE HOYSALAS

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THE COINAGE OF the Hoysaḷa period can be studied from three sets of sources — the epigraphic, the numismatic and the literary. But, at the outset it will have to be remarked that inspite of the availability of these divergent types of sources, the study still remains inconclusive in certain respects due to the pausity of evidences provided by these. The literary sources are hardly helpful as nothing more than the names of a few coins can be culled out from them. The numismatic evidence again is meagre, as not a single hoard of Hoysaḷa coins has been reported hitherto, and one has to depend entirely on the descriptions of Hoysaḷa coinage available in research publications, which are based on some stray coins in private collections. The coins, known hitherto, which can be attributed with certainty to the Hoysaḷa period is not more than thirteen. Among these, except a few which are in the collections of the Madras Museum and the Mysore Archæological department, the present location of many others are not known, even though they have been described previously. It is true that there are a large number of Hoysaḷa epigraphs in southern Karnāṭaka and the neighbouring territories, but half of these which are either fragmentary or those of commemorative nature are completely useless for the present purpose. The rest, which are mostly donatory naturally involve property transactions and can be expected to include certain details of the monetary aspect of such transactions. But even these disappoint us. The donatory inscriptions usually record donations made to persons on religious institutions of cultivable lands, or shares in the proprietary rights of villages, or transfer of right of collection of some taxes, and sometimes money. Out of these the first two varieties of

donatory inscriptions mostly satisfy themselves in giving the boundaries of lands or villages granted, and in the third many of the taxes would have been mentioned only in terms of kind. However, some inscriptions of this group and the last can be utilized to a certain extent for the study of the contemporary system of coinage. But these make only a fraction of the mass of inscriptions known.[1]

The monetary unit of the time was the 'gadyāṇa'. A number of inscriptions not only refer to this coin while specifying the amount, but also use the same unit in expressing the final sum when the addition of a number of items given in fractional currency is involved.[2] Further everywhere gadyāṇa takes precedence over other coins in the expression of the amount, indicating that this is the coin of the highest value. From the context of occurance of the word Gadyāṇa in inscriptions it can be made out that this was a gold coin. An inscription from Sravanabelagola[3] states '*ādidēvara nityābhishekakke kotta gadyāṇaṁ ayidu, yī hoṁnige hālu ba 1*'. An inscription from Belur relates the gift of 262 gadyāṇās and specifies the rate of interest as '*hoṁnige tiṁgaliṁge mūru visa*'. From the other details available in the inscription it can be inferred that *hoṁnu* refers to gadyāṇa only. Another inscription from Santigrama clarifies the position easily from its statement wherein is found '*Siddhāyadoḷage muvattu gadyāṇa*

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1. This state of affairs in which many of the property transactions are mentioned in inscriptions without any reference to their monetary value, and the then prevailing practice of collection of some taxes in kind only, and the availability of very few Hoysaḷa coins in the present time makes one to surmise that the circulation of coined money was less in vogue compared to the later times. Even this remark can only be expressed with certain reservation, as after all the discovery of coins is only a chance happening, and the epigraphical evidence is only incidental in nature recording mostly transactions, the results of which are expected to last permanently without being guided by the fluctuations in prize structure, that may be there from time to time.

2. E.C., V, Bl. 250 ; M.A.R., 1925, Ins. Nos. 46 & 47 ; E.C., XII, Tp. 127.

3. E.C., II, No. 336, dated 1281 A.D.

hoṁnu'. There are also a number of other references where *hoṁnu* is used as a synonym of *gadyāṇa*, as in '*ondu honina modala kuḷa*',[1] *Hoṁnige hāgavoṁdara vṛddhi*',[2] '*kiru kuḷa hoṁnige paṇa 3 raṁte*',[3] etc.

Paṇa, hāga, visa, bēḷe and kāṇi are the fractional currencies used at that time. Paṇa occurs sufficiently in good number of epigraphs and it can be made out that it was $\frac{1}{10}$th the value of the gadyāṇa. An inscription from Belur[4] gives a list of grants of money made by a number of persons. The different donations are given in terms of gadyāṇas and paṇas and the total of these comes to 11 gadyāṇas and 40 paṇas, and the total has been given in the inscription itself as 15 gadyāṇas. That makes 40 paṇas equal to 4 gadyāṇas and hence 1 gadyāṇa equals 10 paṇas. There are many other inscriptions also from which the same relative value can be worked out.[5]

Hāga is the next coin. Two inscriptions from Belur[6] state that the total amount accruing as annual interest for three gadyāṇas at the rate of one hāga per month per gadyāṇa is 9 paṇas. At that rate for 3 gadyāṇas for 12 months the amount would be 36 hāgas and so 9 paṇas equal to 36 hāgas and one paṇa would be 4 hāgas. Another inscription from Belur[7] mentions the provision made for the supply of oil worth one hāga every day to the temple. The annual cost for the same is given as 9 gadyāṇas. The year according to the contemporary system can be made out from other calculations as consisting 360 days, and hence 360 hāgas would make 9 gadyāṇas which again shows that 4 hāgas made one paṇa or hāga is the $\frac{1}{4}$th of paṇa.

The same inscription mentions another fractional currency — the visa, in which the supply of milk worth one visa

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1. E.C., XII, Tp. 127, dated C. 1300.
2. M.A.R., 1931, Ins. No. 3 of 1241 A.D.
3. E.C., XV, Bl. 159 of C. 1250 A.D.
4. E.C., XV, Bl. 250, dated 1298 A.D.
5. E.C., XV, Bl. 252 dated 1298 A.D.; M.A.R., 1925, Ins. No. 45, etc.
6. E.C., XV, Bl. 159 and 160.
7. E.C., XV, Bl. 252, dated 1298 A.D.

everyday to the temple is stated to have cost 2 gadyāṇas and $2\frac{1}{2}$ paṇās annually. So $22\frac{1}{2}$ paṇās would be equal to 360 visas, from which it can be made out that one paṇa equals 16 visas and that means 4 visas made one hāga. The same can also be worked out again from one more inscription from Belur itself[1] where the annual interest for 262 gadyāṇas at the rate of 3 visas per hon per month is given as 58 gadyāṇas and $9\frac{1}{2}$ paṇas. That implies that 9432 visas are equal to $589\frac{1}{2}$ paṇas and shows that Visa is $\frac{1}{16}$th of paṇa.

From these a table of contemporary system of coinage can be drawn as follows :

1 gadyāṇa	=	10 paṇas
1 paṇa	=	4 hāgas
1 hāga	=	4 visas.

This provides a very interesting information that the first fractional currency of the monetary unit was decimal and the subsequent ones are quarterns of their higher denominations.

An inscription from Settikere[2] in the Chikkanayakanahalli taluq states that King Narasiṁha donated the income of two villages to the local temple. The break up of figures of income of each of the villages is given as follows :

Tippūrina gadyāṇa 35 paṇa 7 hāga 1

Haḷiyārada gadyāṇa 5 paṇa 7 bēḷe 1

and the total of these is :

gadyāṇa 41 paṇa 4 hāga 1 bēḷe 1

This indicates that bēḷe is a fractional currency different from and lesser than hāga. Whether this is a synonym of visa or its lower denomination cannot be made out from the context. The same uncertainty remains regarding another fractional currency, kāṇi, which is mentioned in an inscription from Nāyigere.[3]

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1. E.C., XV, Bl. 248 of 1298 A.D.
2. E.C., XII, Ck. dated 1272 A.D.
3. E.C., XII, Ck. 13, dated 1181 A.D.

A copper plate inscription from Diṇḍugur issued by Ballāḷa II in 1209 A.D. and renewed with supplementary grants by Narasiṁha II in 1220 A.D. mentions a coin, Niṣka. It states that the tax to be paid by the residents of the agrahāra there was fixed as one hundred niṣkas and Ballāḷa remitted 18 out of that, and later Narasiṁha ordered that the residents need pay only 75 niṣkas, 25 niṣkas being remitted by him. This is an inscription written in Sanskrit language. It is likely that here Niṣka is only refered to in its ordinary sense of that Sanskrit word namely a gold coin, and it probably refers to the well-known gadyāṇa of the time.

From inscriptions it is known that different gold coins were in use in Karnāṭaka in ancient times like Gaṁgana gadyāṇa and loki-gadyāṇa,[1] which probably can be identified with some actual coins discovered in this country, which varied in their weight standard and gold content. But it appears that there was only one type of gold coin widely in vogue in the Hoysaḷa dominion. In most of the inscriptions the amount is given in terms of simply gadyāṇa (often abbreviated as ga), which indicates that there was no scope for ambiguity as to the coin specified. It must have been a standard gold coin and this could be surmised to be the gold coin issued by the Hoysaḷa kings themselves. Rarely, however, whenever other coins are involved in transactions they have been specifically refered to by name.[2] Sometimes the conversion value of the different monetary units current contemporaneously can also be made out from Hoysaḷa epigraphs. One inscription from Belur[3] dated 1298 A.D. tells that 54 gadyāṇas were obtained in conversion to 65 gadyāṇas in certain currency. It is likely that the other coin mentioned is somewhat a debased one with poorer gold content, by which naturally its value was less.

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1. I.A, Vol. I, p. 142 ; E.C., V, Ag. 81 etc.

2. An inscription from Arakalgud taluq dated 1189 A.D. mentions 25 Loki-gadyāṇas.

3. E.C., XV, Bl. 253.

There is an interesting copper plate[1] of the time of Narasiṁha III. It states that the Hindus from different parts of the country residing at Varanasi were to pay a certain fixed amount to Turukas. In all it was 331 *gadyāṇas*.[2] To defray this King Narasiṁha ordered a grant of 402 *gadyāṇas* from the income of the village Hebbāle in his dominions. The tax to be paid by the residents of Varaṇāsi may have been referred to in the local currency only, and this probably indicates that 402 Hoysaḷa gold coins were equal in value to 331 contemporary Sultanate coins current in Northern India.

Now turning to the discussion of the actual coins that have been reported hitherto, it is seen at the outset that all the coins that are attributed definitely to Hoysaḷas are in gold. These are in three denominations.

The biggest coin is what is described as a Varāha.[3] It is a circular coin about 0.55″ in diameter and about 63 grains in weight. Eight coins of this type are known, all discovered in Southern Karnataka — two from the collection of General Pearse, one in the custody of a person at Holenarasipur, two in the collection of the patel of Haḷebiḍ and three described by M. H. Krishna which are probably preserved now in the Mysore Archæological Department. These can be classified into two major groups, and are further sub-divisible into four sub-groups, as follows :

I. Double-Lion Type :

Sub Type : A

No. 1. From Pearse's collection[4]

Gold. Weight 61.75 grains. Size Mionette's scale 2¼

Obverse : Bordering linear circle ; Maned lion to the left with left fore paw raised and face turned towards

1. E.C., XV, Bl. 298, dated 1278 A.D.

2. *Karnatigaru teruva ga 30, Gujararu teruva ga 7, Kanadigalige teruva ga 10, Tigularu teruva ga, 65 Telugaru teruva ga 32 pa 5, Tulu Maleyalaru ga 32 pa 5, Lāḷaru ga 15, Paṭṭavāḷaru ga 3, Ariyaru ga 8, Tirabuttiyaru ga 15, Gavuḍiyaru ga 15 oṭṭu ga 331.*

3. But this term does not occur in contemporary inscriptions.

4. Eliot, Walter : Coins of South India, p. 152, pl. III, No. 90.

a pillar on which is mounted a discuss ; Above it is another similar lion with sun to right and moon to left.

Reverse : Bordering linear circle ; Three line legend in about 12th century Kannada characters.[1]

Śrī Ta

La kā ḍu

go ṇḍa(ḥ)

The lines of writing are divided from each other by two straight lines running between them.

Sub Type : B

No. 2. From the collection in the Mysore Archæological Department.[2]

Gold. Weight 61.75 grains. Size 0.55″

Obverse and Reverse same as No. 1,[3] but with the difference that the straight lines between the lines of writing are absent in this.

II. Durga Type :

Sub Type : A

No. 3. From the collection in the Mysore Archæological Department.[4]

Gold. Weight 63 grains. Size 0.6″

Obverse : Bordering linear circle ; Maned lion to right, parts of his body being represented by large and small disjointed pellets ; on his back sits a four handed goddess, identified as Durga, wearing crown and holding conch and discuss in two hands. Her other hands are not clear. Symbols of sun and moon flank the goddess.

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1. Upper part of s'ri, Ta and lower part of ṇḍu are off the flan.

2. M.A.R., 1929, p. 24, pl. IX, 1.

3. In the legend, upper part of Ta and lower part of ṇḍu are off the flan.

4. M.A.R., 1929, p. 24, pl. IX, 2.

Reverse: Bordering linear circle; Three line Kannada legend within, with the written lines divided from each other by two parallel straight lines.

Legend reads[1]

Śrī No
ṇaṁbavādi
goṇḍa(ḥ)

No. 4. From Pearse's collection.[2]

Gold. Weight: 63 grains. Size: 2¼″.

Obverse and Reverse: Same as Number 3 above.[3]

No. 5. In the collection of a person at Holenarasipur.[4]

No. 6, No. 7 } In the collection of the patel of Halebid.[5]

The above three are also Gold coins, Weight and Size for these are not available. Obverse and Reverse, as Number 3 above. But coin Number 7 is much effaced, the legend too is in distinct.

Sub Type: B

No. 8. Provenance not known.[6]

Gold. Weight: 63 grains. Size: 0.55″

Obverse: Durga on lion, as in Number 3 above.

Reverse: Linear circular border; three line legend in Kannada Characters of about the 12th century.

Śrī pra
tā pa Nā
ra siṁha

There will not be much difficulty in attributing these coins to the different Kings of the Hoysaḷa dynasty. Taḷakāḍugoṇḍa and Noṇaṁbavāḍigoṇḍa are well-known titles of Vishṇuvardhana

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1. Parts of the letters śri No ṇa ḍi and go are off the flan.
2. E.C.S.I., p. 152, D. pl. III, No. 91.
3. The figure of the goddess is off the flan in the obverse. In the legend Sri, nom and go have effaced.
4. M.A.R., 1913, p. 52, pl. IX, No. 1.
5. M.A.R., 1917, p. 63, pl. XV, No. 2.
6. M.A.R 1929, p. 25, pl. IX, No. 3.

and hence Nos 1 to 7 can be considered as coins issued by that King. However, it is seen sometimes that these titles gained by Vishṇuvardhana after his victory over Talakād and Noṇaṁbavādi, are used by his successors too. But the palæographical features of the legends conforming more to the Kannada script of the early 12th century A.D. confirm these to be the issues of Vishṇuvardhana himself.

Coin Number 8 has the legend Sri Pratāpa Narasiṁha. Hultsch, while describing this coin,[1] thought that, 'pratāpa' being a title to be seen in good number of coin legends of the Vijayanagara Kings, this coin too belongs to the same series and could have been issued by one of the Narasiṁhas of the Vijayanagara dynasty. But, a number of details as pointed out previously by Dr. Krishna,[2] make clear that this is a Hoysaḷa coin – the weight of the coin follows the Hoysaḷa standard of 63 grains, the obverse deity is similar to that in the obverse of Noṇaṁbavādi type of Vishṇuvardhana, and all the more the characters used here are certainly of the type used in the 12th century A.D. Further coins of Narasiṁha of the Vijayanagara dynasty with legend and following the Vijayanagara standard weight of coins, i.e., 52 grains, have also been discovered. There are Three Narasiṁhas who decorated the Hoysaḷa throne, but this coin could be assigned on palæographical grounds as already stated to the time of Narasiṁha I only. No coins attributable definitely to the later rulers of the dynasty have been discovered so far.

The above, being the biggest known coins of the period, can be considered as gadyāṇas mentioned in the inscriptions. It is interesting to note, that Hoysaḷas, even though they were subordinates of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi in the early part of their rule, have not followed them in minting their coins. While the Chālukya coins are of the punch marked variety the Hoysaḷa coins are double die struck; they are also larger and better made. While the standard weight of the Chālukya coin

1. Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society. Vol. I, Part III, p. 134.

2. M.A.R., 1929, p. 24 ff.

was about 58 grains, the Hoysaḷa coins are about 63 grains in weight. In this respect the Hoysaḷas copied the standard weight of the Chōḷa coins, which is also about 63 grains. The only element the Hoysaḷas borrowed from the Chālukyas is the liontype. But even in this the reverse shows a new feature in having the lines of the legend demarcated by straight lines. Shortly afterwards, probably with the introduction of the Noṇaṁbavādi type, another new idea to have the figure of a deity in the obverse was introduced. These features, that is having the figure of a deity on the obverse and the legend demarcated by lines in the reverse, appear for the first time in South Indian coinage, and became a model for Kālachūri currency. later on the Hoysaḷa type was extensively copied in the Vijayanagara times.

Apart from gadyāṇas some coins of the lower denominations are also known. These coins are bereft of any legend and their attribution to the Hoysaḷas depend purely on typological grounds. There are five coins, found in the collection of the patel of Haḷebiḍ,[1] the obverse of some of which resemble the gadyāṇas. The weight of four of them is around 6.3 grains each. Another coin, which is smaller weighs 1.1 grains. In continuation of the previous ones described, the inventory of the known Hoysaḷa coins may be continued as follows:

III. Lion and Narasiṁha Type:[2]

No. 9. Gold Weight; 6.7 Grains. Size: 0.65"[3]
Obverse: Stylized lion to right with curved line above.
Reverse: Representation of God Narasiṁha seated in padmāsana facing with discus in right hand and conch in left.

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1. M.A.R., 1917, p. 63, Pl. XV 2; *Ibid.*: 1929, p. 24 ff. pl. IX Nos. 4 to 7.

2. M.A.R., 1929, p. 27, No. 1, Pl. IX, No. 4.

3. Sic. The size is too large than what is clear by the photograph given. It may be about 0.27" the same as the next one.

IV. Standing Archer Type: [1]

No. 10. Gold. Weight: 6.5 Grains. Size: 0.27″

Obverse: Stylized lion to right, shown with ten pellets and curved line above.

Reverse: Man standing holding strung bow in his left hand with shaft resting on his shoulder. In right field, part of bordering circle.[2]

V. Boar Type: [3]

No. 11. Gold. Weight: 6.3 Grains. Size: 0.32″ to 0.37″

Obverse: Stylized lion to right, its neck, body and tail being represented by curved lines, while its face and forelegs are indicated by four and eight pellets respectively.

Reverse: Boar to right with tail curved up. The legs are represented each by three dots.

VI. Dancing Durga (Bhairavi?) Type: [4]

Sub Type A.

No 12. Gold. Weight: 6.3 Grains. Size: 0.32″

Obverse: Stylized lion to right with curved line above.

Reverse: Four armed dancing Durga wearing Kirita bracelets and anklets, but otherwise naked. Holds discus in the right hand, and conch in the left.

Sub Type B.[5]

No. 13. Gold. Weight: 1.1 Grains. Size: 0.15″

Obverse: Similar to Number 12 above.

Reverse: Dancing Durga (The details are not clear).

Out of these Dr. Krishna has attributed, on very doubtful grounds. No. 9 to Narasiṁha II, 10 to Rāmanātha, 11 to

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1. *Ibid.*: p. 28, No. 2, Pl. IX, No. 5.
2. The figure is suggested by Dr. Krishna as either Kirāta or Rāma.
3. M.A.R., 1929, p. 28, No. 4, Pl. IX, No. 8.
4. *Ibid.*: No. 3 (a), pl. IX, No. 8.
5. *Ibid.*: No. 3 (b), pl. IX, No. 7.

Vīra Ballāḷa III and 12 and 13 to Narasiṁha III. But in the absence of legends it is difficult to say anything definitely.

However it is seen from the above inventory that the weights of the different groups of known specimens, i.e., 63 grains, 6.3 grains and 1.1, show that the second variety is $\frac{1}{10}$th of the weight and the last is roughly $\frac{1}{4}$th of the previous one (though of course the present specimen is a little less in weight, i.e., about 0.4 grains; but this could be due to wearing), and this ratio conforms to the ratio of the relative values of the first three coins in order from the highest referred to previously from the epigraphical evidence. Hence now it can be inferred that the biggest coins of the present Hoysaḷa specimens known is the gadyāṇa, the next is paṇa and the smallest one is the hāga.[1]

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1. There are other coins also like the Virarayi fanams which have been attributed by Dr. Krishna to the Hoysaḷa period. But he himself is skeptical about his hypothesis and hence have been omitted in the present discussion. See E.C.S.I., p. 81 and M.A.R., 1932, p. 86 for a coin attributed to Tonnur Nayaks (Hoysaḷa?), M.A.R., 1933, p. 102 for the coin of Vinayāditya (?) and M.A.R., 1929, p. 24 ff for Virarāya fanams.

HOYSAḶA TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE

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HAWELL HAS MADE some adverse remarks about the Hoysaḷa style. He refers to the over-elaboration and wild profusion of the temples of Haḷebiḍ. He opines that the palmy days of Indian Art had come to an end and that decadence had sent in with the advent of Hoysaḷa Art. But the Art of the Hoysaḷas has a charm of its own.

There is no doubt that the Hoysaḷa temple-architecture forms an important part of Indian architecture. Its development took place in the old Mysore territory largely because of the availability of the chloritic schist, a type of green soapstone commonly found in the rock-system of the area. It is a close-grained stone, easy to work but at the same time durable and can be quarried in fairly large sizes. The adoption of this stone facilitated the art of decorative carving for which the Hoysaḷa School of architecture is so greatly famous.

Many art historians have mixed up the later Chālukyan style with that of the Hoysaḷa. Upto a point this is understandable because the Hoysaḷas took over from the later Chālukyas politically and culturally. The early Hoysaḷa rulers until the advent of Vishṇuvardhana were the feudatories of the later Chālukyas. With the defeat of Vikramāditya VI at the hands of Vishṇuvardhana at the battle of Kannegala near Hassan the Hoysaḷas became independent. The architect of this victory was the famous Gaṅgarāja, one of his trusted Generals.

Naturally, there is a good deal common between the early temples of the Hoysaḷas and those of the later Chālukyas. Both have the following :

(1) Carved doorway
(2) Lathe-turned Pillars
(3) Pierced-window screens

To this Châlukyan heritage, the Hoysaḷas added certain architectural features peculiarly their own, such as the star-shaped ground plan, the Jagati and the zig-zag character of the wall. In the Châlukyan temples the wall surface is not indented.

The following early examples should be particularly noticed: The Basvēśwara at Tonachi (1047 A.D.), Jain Basadi at Angadi (1050 A.D.), the Kēdarēśwara at Belagāmi (1060 A.D.), the Tripurāntaka, Belagāmi (1070 A.D.), the Kaitabhēśwara, Kupatur (1070 A.D.) and the Jain Basti at Hanasoge (1090 A.D.).

History of Temples:

By the constant explorations of the Archæological Survey of Mysore, eighty to ninty Hoysaḷa temples have been discovered. The reign of Vishṇuvardhana witnessed great architectural activity. The Lakshmi temple at Doddagaddavalli, Hassan District is a fascinating temple with four towers. It was built by a great merchant (Mahavaḍḍavyavahāri), Kullahana-Rahuta and his wife Sahajadevi. R. Narasimha Char on the evidence of the inscription (Hassan 149) assigned 1113 A.D. for the construction of the temple. But the date of the inscription may be slightly later because it mentions all the titles of Vishṇuvardhana. It mentions the epithet "Talakkadugonda". We know that Vishṇuvardhana captured Talakad from the Chōḷas in 1116 A.D. The famous Kēśava temple at Bēlūr was built at the orders of Vishṇuvardhana to commemorate his victory over the Chōḷas. The date of construction is 1117 A.D. It has an admirable *Navaranga* (hall) with pillars of varied design and infinite variety. Its ceiling, deep and domical with the tiny figure of Ugra Narasiṁha is superb. It is also celebrated for its beautiful bracket figures. The sculpture of the chain of destruction is remarkable. A double-headed bird attacks a śarabha, which is attacking a lion. The lion, in its turn, is attacking an elephant. The elephant has seized a snake which is in the act of swallowing a rat. Inside the *Garbhagriha* (cell) is the most handsome figure of Kēśava or Vijaya Nārāyana of the inscriptions. Also inside the temple,

there are four exquisitely carved bracket figures on the four central pillars of the *Navaranga*.

The Kappe Chennigaraya temple within the enclosure of the Kēśava temple is an interesting monument commissioned by Śāntaladēvi, the queen of Vishṇuvardhana. The Kīrtinārāyana temple at Talkad also belongs to the reign of Vishṇuvardhana. Other temples of the reign are Siddēśwara and Kēśava at Marale. Recently the archæological survey of Mysore discovered the Bhaktavatsala temple of the time of Vishṇuvardhana at Beḷagoḷa. It has a circular plan.

The reign of Narasiṁha I was equally conspicuous for the large number of temples. At least 15 example are known. The Iswara temple at Anekonda, near Davanagere, has ornate pillars. It was built in 1160 A.D. The Kēśava temple at Hullikere, 1163 A.D. has the 24 forms of Vishṇu. The Sōmēśwara temple at Suttur, Nanjangud Taluk, is a three-celled structure and was built in 1169 A.D. by Nakimayya, a General of Narasiṁha I. It is rather a rare example of a Hoysaḷa temple built of granite with a carved tower of the usual chloritic schist. The Brahmeswara temple at Kikkēri, 1171 A.D. is an important monument of Narasiṁha's reign. The Bucheswara temple at Koramangala near Hassan, 1173 A.D. is an excellent specimen of Hoysaḷa style. According to Hassan 71, E.C.V. the temple was constructed by Buchi Rāja on the day of the King's coronation. Perhaps the most outstanding temple of the reign is that of the Hoysaḷēśwara at Haḷebiḍ. It was actually begun in the reign of Vishṇuvardhana and was completed in the reign of his son Narasiṁha I. Commenting on this temple, Fergusson, that eminent authority on eastern as well as western architecture says that like the Parthenon, it is the best example of its class. Each of them is completely different from the other. The Parthenon represents the best in human intellect; the Hoysaḷēśwara the best in human feeling.

The forty-seven year reign of Balḷāḷa II saw the construc-, tion of at least twenty three temples. The Amritēśwara temple at Amritapura near Tarikere isḷa superb monument. It was built in 1196 A.D. at the orders of Amritēśwara Daṇḍanāyaka

a minister and general of Ballaḷa II. Sculptures illustrating the episodes from Bhāgavata, Mahābhārata and Rāmāyana make this temple an illustrious one. The Kedareswara temple at Haḷebiḍ owes its origin to Ballāḷa II and his wife Abhinava Ketala Devi in 1219. The trikutachala (triple temple) dedicated to Mahalingeswara at Muvattanahalli, and the triple temple of Chatteswara at Chatchattanahalli near Haḷebiḍ, both of 1200 A.D. are examples of elegance at artistry. Another unsurpassed example, built in 1220 A.D. is the Iswara temple at Arsikere.

To the reign of Narasiṁha II belong many splendid temples. The Galageswara and Kalleswara temples at Heggare, Chitaldurg District, the Sōmēśwara at Harnahalli and the Mallikārjuna at Basral, Mandya District are conspicuous for their beauty.

Somēśwara's reign also witnessed some exquisite temples. The Lakshmīnarasiṁha temple at Nuggihalli is a beautiful specimen of Hoysaḷa architecture. Nuggihalli has also the Sadāśiva temple, of the same period. The Panchalinga temple at Govindanahalli, Mandya District is unique because of its five towers over the five cells, all in the same alignment.

Many notable additions of temples were made during the reign of Narasiṁha III. The triple temple of Yōga Mādhava at Settikere, Tumkūr District was built in 1261 A.D. by Gōpāla Daṇḍanāyaka, the King's General. The Kēśava and the Mule-Sankareswara temples at Tiruvekere, Tumkur District were built in 1260 A.D. The Lakshmīnarasiṁha temple at Hoḷenarasipur also belongs to this reign. But the best example of the period is the Kēśava temple at Sōmanāthpur, built by Sōma in 1268 A.D. Its three stellate towers, are remarkable for their symmetry and proportion.

The reign of Ballāḷa III was a period of troubles. Misfortune overtook the empire. Two examples are known from Hedatale. The Hoysaḷas also built temples in the Dravidian style in regions where it was familiar to the people. The material used in such cases was granite.

How do we recognise a Hoysaḷa temple? The following constitute its hall-mark.

Generally the temple has a star-shaped ground plan. This is an innovation that the Hoysaḷas introduced and is unique to the style.

The putting up of a Jagati or platform in conformity with the star-shaped plan is of great architectural importance. It provides for a *pradakshina patha* on the outside so that the visitor or the worshipper can go round the temple enjoying the wall sculptures and those sculptures depicting the episodes from the Rāmāyana, Bhāgavatha and the Mahābhārata which constituted a source of popular education. Secondly the Jagati gave a height to the temple. As a rule, the Hoysaḷa temples, including the Śikhara are not tall.

It is not improbable that the Jagati as an item of architecture was conceived by the great architects of Vishṇuvardhana.

The zig-zag character of the wall of the temple is a salient feature. This facilitates the sculptures to be seen both in the sunlight and shade.

The doorway is marked by an exuberance of carving. The sculptors particularly lavished their skill on its execution.

The deep and domical ceiling is another characteristic of the Hoysaḷa style. The Navaranga ceiling of the Kēśava temple at Bēlūr is a masterpiece.

The pillars are lathe-turned. They are variously designed. Some of them are 16, 32 and 64—pointed. Some of them are bell-shaped, some vase-shaped. They can take very high polish. The pillars of the Pārśvanātha Basti at Haḷebiḍ display special properties connected with the reflection of light.

The later Chālukyan style is weak in figure sculpture. This is the strong point of the Hoysaḷa style.

Among the sculptors of the early Hoysaḷa style, Dasoja of Balligāve is perhaps the most outstanding. He was Vishṇuvardhana's chief architect. There are four autographed images that he carved at the Kēśava temple. One of the figures shows a monkey pulling at the dress of a damsel. Another figure is that of a female dressing her long hair. The Navaranga has

exactly a similar figure made by him. The figure of Bhairavi with bowl and a skull-headed mace, surmounted by a trisul, goes to his credit. He had the title "Biruda rūvāri gondala baḍiva". Dasoja appears to have worked elsewhere. We have a beautiful image of Kēśava four feet high, now in the Metropolitan Museum of New York but originally belonging to Kikkeri near Krishnarajapet, bearing the name of Dasoja on its pedastal. He also worked at Haḷebiḍ. There is a female figure with his name on Hoysaḷēśwara temple. Dasoja's celebrated son, Chāvana also carved four bracket figures including that of Natya Saraswati in the Navaranga of the Kēśava temple at Bēlūr. The figure of the huntress is slender-waisted and broad-hipped with legs wide apart. The figure of the male flute player is quite vigorous. The fourth figure is also that of a dancer whose fingers are broken. Chāvana did his work at the instance of Kēśavadēva and had the title "Biruda rūvāri madanamahēśa".

Chikka Hampa executed two figures: A lovely female stands with betel leaf in her left hand with a male attendant on her left dipping a syringe to draw rose-coloured water. Another is that of a male drummer with tuft, moustache and beard. The inscription below this figure says that Chikka Hampa was the son of Indoja and that he prepared the images in the mantapa or hall of the God Vijayanārāyana (Kēśava) and that he had the title "Machcharipa rūvārigala gaṇḍa".

Mallianna, Kencha Mallianna and Malanna were Vishṇuvardhana's other sculptors.

Nagoja of Gadag carved a wonderful figure of a female dancer depicting a pose from Bharatanatya. Her right toe is slightly raised to keep time. Excellent filigree work on the torana is seen in the finely carved bunches of flower buds. Among the flower buds is seen a bee sucking honey.

King Narasiṁha's celebrated architect at Haḷebiḍ was Kedaroja. He got the four doorways of the Hoysaḷēśwara temple carved. Of these, the southern doorway, with its lintel slab 12′ long, 3′ high and 1½′ thick on which occurs the makara Torana is the finest. An inscription on it says that Kalidasi made it for Kedaroja.

Maba was another great sculptor. Ketana carved an eight-foot long panel depicting the whose episode of Kiratarjuniya: Sages are seen at penance; Arjuna is standing on one leg on the Indrakila hill; Siva and Arjuna hit the boar with their arrow at the same time and Arjuna floors Siva. We also see Revoja's work at the Hoysaḷēśwara.

Of all the sculptors who worked on the later Hoysaḷa temples of Mysore, Mallithamma is the most eminent and outstanding. He was first patronised by Amritesvara Daṇṇāyaka who commissioned the construction of the Amritesvara temple at Amritapura in the Tarikere Taluk in A.D. 1196 during the reign of Ballāḷa II. We find Mallitamma's signature on some of the small but beautifully made ceilings of the outer hall (Mukhamantapa). There are in all 30 ceilings, each 3′ deep. In design and execution, this is one of the finest temples of the Hoysaḷa period, not inferior to the Haḷebiḍ temples. On the outside of the Mukhamantapa, there is a jagati (railed parapet) 6 ft. high running all through with sculptured panels from the Mahābhārata and Bhāgavata. The panel depicting Vāsudeva, the father of Krishna falling at the feet of an ass not to bray to announce the birth of Krishna to Kamsa is an interesting one. It indicates that this tradition was known as early as 1196 A.D. The right side of the railing delineates the whole story of the Rāmāyana.

Bommaṇṇa Daṇṇāyaka made Nuggihalli, 12 miles north-east of Channarayapatna into an *Agrahāra* and installed in Śaka 1168 (1246 A.D.) the images of Kēśva, Narasiṁha and Gōpāla at the Lakshmīnarasiṁha temple. We have the names of two architects who were responsible for its construction and decoration. Mallithamma worked on the northern side while Baichoja of Nandi executed the wall images of the soūthern side. Baichoja mentions his titles but Mallitamma just signs his name. From the Iswara temple at Nagalapura, Tumkur District, we learn that Baichoja was the son of Sigoja.

The figure of Paravasudeva (Ādimūrti) on Ananta is beautifully carved by Baichoja. Vishṇu holds the discus and Conch in his right and left hands respectively while the other

two hands are quite relaxed. The Kannada inscription at the right foot of the figure says "Sri Adimurti devaranu Nandiya Baichoja madida kandira."

The vigorous figure of Trivikrama was also made by Baichoja. Trivikrama holds Gada (club) and Padma (flower) in his upper and lower right hands while his upper and lower left respectively hold the discus and the conch. Brahma is seen worshipping his raised right foot.

Two more of Baichoja's works are Kṛishna lifting up the Govardhana mountain and Narasiṁha tearing up the entrails of Hiranya-Kasipu. The two-lined Kannada inscription at the foot of Krishna's image mentions the titles of Baichoja.

The large wall images of this temple have toranas mostly composed of creepers, turned and twisted into beautiful shapes as at Hosaholalu and Somanathapur. Their pedestals constitute a broken frieze of scroll work with Padma, Garuda and the Kirtimukha inter-rupting the continuity. They are about 3′ 3″ including the torana and pedestal.

Mallitamma carved 16 images on the north wall. The figure of Arjuna shooting the fish is vigorously executed by Mallithamma. Arjuna is looking into the oil bowl at his foot where the fish is reflected. To his right is the Hanumadwaja and Draupadi holding a garland to his left. The eight-handed Hayagriva with discus, sword, gada arrow, conch, shield, bow and flower, killing Somaka, a rare figure, bears the signature of Mallitamma.

He also carved the fine figure of Parvathi in Padmasana with trisul, damaru, rosary and phala. The figure of dancing Lakshmi with discus, conch, flower and fruit, Abhaya, Varada and Svargahasta and flanked by drummers also goes to his credit.

We find Mallitamma next working on the Kēśava temple at Harnahalli, a village five miles south of Arsikere. Three brothers Pedda Heggade, Sovanna and Kesanna employed him to build the temple in 1234 A.D. Mallitamma carved out twenty five images:

Another temple which Mallitamma planned and executed is the Lakshmīnarasiṁha temple at Javagal, Hassan District. This

is an undated temple and the presence of Mallitamma would date it to the middle of the 13th century. 17 wall images bear his signature.

Chikkamallitamma carved the figure of dancing Pārvati, with six hands flanked by Shanmukha on peacock and Ganesha on rat. Her vehicle, lizard occurs on the pedestal.

The Panchalinga temple at Govindanahalli, Mandya District, is unique because it has five cells (Garbhagriha) and correspondingly five sikharas on a single alignment. There are two dwarapala figures bearing the signature of Mallitamma. So, it can be dated to the first half of the 13th Century.

We now come to the fifth and the last monument which displays the finished workmanship of this great sculptor. This is the famous temple of Kēśava at Somanathapur, Mysore District, built in A.D. 1268 during the reign of Narasiṁha III. It is an equisite specimen of Hoysaḷa architecture.

Apart from the wall images, Mallitamma's signature appears on many of the carvings of the basement friezes. We find his name below the frieze of elephants. The scroll over the row of horses and the makaras and the swans above the makaras are signed separately. The figure of the swan feeding its young one containing his name is quite interesting. He also did the row of horses. This clearly illustrates that he had a good deal to do with the construction of the temple apart from embellishing it. Of the wall images, he carved a large number. Thus he worked from 1196 to 1268, a period of 72 years. It may be improbable for one to work for 72 years. What must have been his age at 1196 A.D.? Were there two people with the same name?

We have also the names of other sculptors associated with him in the decoration of the Kēśava temple somanathapur. All these were employed by Soma, the general of Narasiṁha III.

Masanitamma executed the beautiful figure of Manmatha and consort. Choudaiya made two figures: one of Vishṇu and the other, of Sūrya. Bamaya carved a female figure with phala and pushpa. Lohita has to his credit a male figure with arms broken flanked by consorts. Perhaps the best figure-sculpture

MAIN TRENDS IN THE HOYSAḶA TEMPLE STYLE

—*K. V. Soundara Rajan*

IT WOULD PERHAPS be well nigh incontrovertible if it is declared that in the vast and varied realms of mediaeval temple architectural exposition, no style has carved a special niche of its own, so implicitly, so spell-bindingly and so unforgettably as the masterpieces of the Hoysaḷa temple craftsmen (11th to the 14th century A.D.) in the southern Mysore zone. Ravishing charm, such as is the Rajarani temple of Bhubaneswar (Orissa) is not uncommon; virility and vigour such as the shrines of Khajuraho are not unknown; grandeur such as the Kailāsa of Ellōrā, or the Great temple of Thanjavur is not unfamiliar. But what holds us closely involved with the Hoysaḷa experimentations is, more than its artistry, its studied exercise in a beguiling architectural symphony-blended with the conformity to the vimana composition and the coherence of the *Rekha-Nagara Prasada*. Alike in the realm of religion – where they achieved a becoming dignity by equal patronage to Jainism and Hinduism – as in the province of temple-building and its ancillary arts, the Hoysaḷas showed a convincing potentiality for formal coalescence. The aesthetic movement espoused by the Hoysaḷas signified more a synthesis than an empirical union of traditions, leading them even towards unconventional excursions beyond the confines of canonical stipulations. In the sequel, they remained an iridescent but affected phenomenon in the annals of hieratic Hindu architecture, neither claiming a cogent parentage nor bequeathing any enduring progeny. It was the rise of the Vijayanagar empire that practically ended its spell, both aesthetically and politically, and we do not discern any recrudescence of its art-*metier*, after the 14th century A.D.

What then, is the range of the Hoysaḷa architectural spectrum that should have made it truly great despite its ostensible

unconventionality, and admittedly vivacious despite its cloying exuberance, – a long-lost but yet lingering aroma of artistic candour? The times, the zone, the medium and the mettle had gone into the composition of the unique bequest that is Hoysaḷa art.

The times: When the Hoysaḷa dynasty spurted on the political horizon, it was heir to the pedigree of Chōḷa-Pāndya splendour, across the Kāvērī on the south, the Nolamba-Ganga array of art virtuosity to the west and south and the Kadamba-Āḷupa exercises in structural manipulation and sculptural garnishing, and was a witness to the Kalyāni Chālukya-Yādava plenitude of pompous hybridisation. It could have followed any one of these, and become an anticipated successor-style to one of these regional schools. But it chose to tread the path of bold innovation combined with a cleverly smothered conventionality, of an avowed display of axial and elevational overtones while yet not daring nor caring to expand its physical frame into anything more than medium sized model; of scintillating intricacy of surface ornamentation and absence of any claim to originality in elevational or interior structural profile. In short, it was as much its prodigality as its arrestingly new trend in the temple style that characterised its efforts. That it should have managed at all to persist in its spider-web sophistication, and continue its well-concealed architectural conformism for nearly two centuries, would certainly make it eligible for the highest praise and plaudits.

The zone: It is very clear that the heart of Hoysaḷa empire lay in the upper Kāvērī, and the Hagari valley, and well quarrantined between the 14th and the 12th parallel, following a north-west–south-east strike of hillocks of the Mysore upland and its inner plains. Thus its architectural heredity was well integrated with the arche-typal southern *vimana* order. The immediate mentors of its art-reflexes were, to a very large extent, the western Gangas, on the one hand, and the Kalyāni-Chālukyas, on the other. Both these had themselves had an honourable ancestry in structural art; both had the necessary range of architectural components that were amenable to

simulation or emulation ; both had an ambidextrous propensity of displaying puritan plainness as well as profuse surface-decor ; and both had a marked expertise in soft as well as hard stone craftsmanship. It is these two that had largely impacted on the outlook and *elan* of the Hoysaḷa-craft – repertory, when this dynasty was on the threshold of political supremacy in the south Mysore region at the close of the 11th century A.D. The enthusiastic local guilds were loth to copy the solid and sublime stateliness of the Chōḷa models on the south bank of upper Kāvērī valley, nor the demure daintiness of the Nolamba *milieu* – neighbours around their own mainland zone. It could be proved that the Hoysaḷa style generously partook of the Deccani idioms from the Kalyāni Chālukyas and the peninsular phraseology of the Ganga enterprises. But what it added to these and substracted from these were its own special impulses, uninhibited and yet disciplined, extravagant and yet regimented. The southern *vimana* order was closely hugged to their heart by the Hoysaḷa *stapatis* in all their experimentations, thus proving that regional moorings are inalienable.

The medium: The Hoysaḷa style, again, was very much the product of the raw material medium it chose. The stone was a light greenish talc-schist, or chloritic schist, which could be adequately dealt with by sensitive chisel work and carpenters' implements. The preparation of embellishments was generally in three stages, firstly the bold dummy *relievo* outline of proposed carving, next the roughly 'picked' details of physiognomy, body and ornamentation, shaped out of this dummy, and finally the careful finish with sharp outlines, fully cut-out ornamentation, and perfectly imparted polish. It should have been a basically familiar process for the artisans to put this through, considering the eagerness and constancy of ornamentation noted in all Hoysaḷa temples which for them, was not seemingly a task to be merely performed, but an ideal to be consummated, and that ideal was an aesthetic maturity— as vivified by the supple blend of flesh and bone in Hoysaḷa figure sculpture, and the arresting perspective of the three dimentional values of the models, apparel, and jewellery, and

the liveliness of the entire temple exterior plane, where placidity is absent. We might as well concede that an exacting task in glyptic art was accomplished with notable success and the carvings verily hang about the temple walls and quoins like etherial disembodied fairy visions of the panaroma and the traditions of the Hoysaḷa hey-day.

They were, withal, the captives of time and (cultural) tide, which wait for no man, and in their very feverish vigour, aesthetic surfeit and ornamentational extravaganza, form mute witnesses to the trend of stylization that had overpowered them convincingly, though, may be, with some suavity. The Hoysaḷa art is, by and large, an integral part of mediaeval mannerism, and its reflexes were not designed to recapture elemental power, say, of the Rāshtrakūta or early Chōḷa art-metier, the spirit of its architecture and art was more earth-bound than trancendental, more hide-bound than original; its modelling aimed at a sensualism and a theatrical stance rather than an inner, soulful sublimation of life. Its products, thus, when the machinery of technical confidence was set in motion, were custom-made, impeccable proto-types of a single evocatory anatomical rhythm, without differentiation. Variety and richness were there, but not diversity and depth. Did the categorical shift in the king's patronage from Jain to Hindu artvista and ideal, almost overnight—that was the predominent event of its formative years—have something to do with this art-metamorphism? One wonders. Their own Jain temples before and after Vishṇuvardhana's historic conversion—which did not affect the queen Śāntala Dēvi's own eclecticism—continued to reflect an austere simplicity and architectural clarity.

The Hoysaḷa temples, however, were not all of this soft, building or sculpting medium. Wall in tune with the extant specimens of the southern *Vimana* tradition in its southern and eastern periphery it also built occasionally in granite. Obviously, such efforts were through guest-artisans, or by the local craftsman who had had sufficient familiarity with the granite workmanship of the Kāvēri valley zone of Mysore, under the Chōḷas or the Gangas. Such rare and exceptional

examples in the harder rock-material, as seen at Talkad, Hedatale etc., prove only the rule, and were clearly not hearty or sustained, nor part of its basic commitments.

We have tried to place the physical dimensions of the Hoysaḷa architectural *denoument* in its own true environment, in the earlier pages. One should not, however, run away with the notion that the Hoysaḷa architecture could so summarily be dealt with. Indeed, one of the greatest virtues of this regional school architecture was its zest and its deliberate attempts at cross-fertilization of the contemporary ideas, norms and art-motifs. It presented also the urge to initiate a modeloptically different from that known either in the southern most Mysore area under the Gangas, or the northern Deccani tradition o the Kalyāni Chālukyas. The Hoysaḷa school, thus, fully in keeping with its enterprising *penchant* for innovation, while basically drawing from these schools around, simultaneously set in motion, three or four novel trends in temple-design.

It, thus, plumped for the *jagati* terrace as the basal setting of the temple, quite unlike the true southern *vimana* usage. In this, it was primarily following the optional usage of this element in the Kalyāni Chālukyas, and the almost consistent usage in the Yādava, Kākatīya, territories. Its purpose, however, was clearly rational and not traditional in this regard, since such *jagati* terrace would have been quite essential for highlighting the stellate ground plan and elevation of the main *vimana* that was its chief claim to individuality in temple art.

This stellate plan was admittedly the most original and unconventional trend ever introduced in Indian temple architecture. The stellate plan did not have any gradually developing earlier stages and was clearly a sudden blossoming of an idea, representing vigour, diffusion and cultural flavour. It was clearly based upon a gyrating core-structure, orienting itself, during its gyrations, successively towards all the points of the compass. It had a still underlying purpose of simulating the northern *rekha-prasada*, while still retaining the southern model. Thus, the vertical rubbings run right up from plinth

to the *griva* almost uninterruptedly, creating an illusion of a partially closed royal umbrella. This did have a symbolism of its own, of the centrepetal focus of the temple organism. The horizontal stratification running like a warp across this convergent vertical rhythm, was a mere abstraction of the southern *vimana* storeyed division. It is of interest to note here that the Kalyāni Chālukya style of architecture, in its 'southern' category, had already established an arche-type, wherein the *talas* get somewhat stunted or compressed, the individual element of the *hara* stylised, and their horizontal lines emphasised, and the *griva* and *sikhara*, undistinguishably merged with the total mass of the tower design. The wall portion also was abbreviated into the *tala*-and *upari jangha* division of the northern style, heightened also by the expansive *chadya* cornice—again a northern feature. With such a headstart already given by the Kalyāni Chālukyan guilds, and with a deliberate intention of fostering a model different either from this or from the basic 'southern' proto-types of the Gangavāḍi and Chōḷamaṇḍala, it is indeed speaking high of the originality of the Hoysaḷa guilds for having been still in a position to introduce innovations to erect a model, whose main idioms in drapery were as follows:

(1) The super-posing of the well-known northern device of *vyala-thara, gaja-thara, asva-thara, nara-thara* etc., of the plinth, against the truly southern or Deccani southern plinth, *milieu* of *padma, karnika, kapota*, and *vedi*, resulting in a complete camouflaging of the inner integrity of the plinth mouldings by a series of bands of equal height, and set vertically into an edge-to-edge fitting, virtually giving an impression of a filigree outer encasement.

(2) A stellate plan which does away with *cardinal* points, as well as *karna* or *bhadra*, and gives greater wall space for figure sculpture. In the early examples, this stellate main temple mould was not reflected in the *jagati* terrace below, nor so meticulously consummated on the *jangha* itself – keeping a fair balance of the carvings and architectural wall elements and motifs. *Jagati* itself was dispensed with in some of the

later examples, as at Mosale, where an elevational setting for the temple was otherwise available.

(3) The element of *sukanasa* being made ubiquitous for all Hoysaḷa temple.

(4) Side porches for the *navaranga*.

(5) *Vitana* diversification of the interior ceiling with all the accomplished dexterity already imbided from the Deccan.

(6) Avoiding any obligatory *prakara-bandha* for the temple, nor indeed any *parivara* or ancillary shrines, and in the sequel, not over-caring for a regular *gopuradvara* entrance for the complex. Such a *gopuradvara* is primarily a post-Hoysaḷa introduction, wherever we find them now.

(7) The stylization of the miniature *vimana* motif on the niche-shrines on the *jagati*, *jangha* etc., into a deliberately hybridised model, a *via-media* between a northern and southern temple tower forms. In an equally conscious basic conformity with the southern *vimana* order, it kept all temple towers–main or miniature – storeyed, and capped by a *sikhara* and kept its roof from *sukanasa* to *mukha mandapa* flat.

(8) It eschewed the use of either stucco or painting in its art composition, in glaring contrast to the southern established practice, but maintained *dvarapala* figures on the *ardha mandapa* door-flanks.

The most realistic factor in the Hoysaḷa style dissemination was obviously the circumscribed zone of its provenance. This hardly ever crossed the Tungabhadrā and was indeed appreciably to the south of it. It did not transgress into the Kadamba territory on the Sahyadri upland (like the present day Shimoga District) or the coastal tract, nor too flagrantly into the Nolamba zone in Kolar, Bangalore, Chitaldrug and Tumkur districts of today. It clearly respected the Kāvērī as the southern cultural border. In effect, it were confined to Mysore, Mandya and Hassan districts, and it is needless to say that this was the home-zone of the Hoysaḷas, and at once involved the hill-and-valley basin. The Hoysaḷa patronage was, at the same time, culturally ambidextrous, since a non-'Hoysaḷa' and

truly 'southern' *milieu* was also simultaneously, co-evally, and co-existingly set in motion in this very territory – some of the outstanding examples of which are at Śrīrangapaṭna, Melkote, Tonnur, Gundlupet etc.

The 'Hoysaḷa' style was thus a resplendent case-in-point for the motivating factors which underlay regional temple architectural schools in India, namely sustained political supremacy, a religious revival, and local cultural regeneration and a *penchant* for synthesis.

In creating such a trend, the local guilds whose celebrated artisans like Malli Tamma etc., had left their names engraved on many temples they devotedly fostered, were clearly working down the alley-of-no-return in architectural styling. The natural counter-action to this was the restoration of the main-line devolutions in the southern *vimana* style, in the subsequent Vijayanagar era, with a sharpness, freshness and promise, into a dedicated commitment to, and elaborate annotation of the southern *vimana* personality, vertically and axially.

The Polymorphism of the Hoysaḷa parent-model:

Within the somewhat conspicuously extravagant uniformity of their basic modulations, the Hoysaḷa guilds did vary the phraseology and the lay-out mode, resulting in a considerable range of differentiation, of which about 8 variants appear to be discernible. They are primarily typological or morphological, though a broad chronological progression also could be argued out. These types are :

(a) Single cella and tower, with *ardha mandapa* and *navaranga* alone.

Single tower with three niches on the outer wall and two more in *navaranga* (Maddur – 1150 A.D.). There are some without even the *navaranga*, but there were perhaps degeneration of the main type rather than variants (Madapura, Hemmaragala, Aggunda etc.).

(b) Single or double cella with towers, with *navaranga* and temple porch (Bēlūr 1117 A.D., Talakad 1117 A.D., Tenginaghatta).

(c) Triple cella, but with only one tower and *ardha mandapa* only for the main cella (Hosaholalu 1120 A.D.), (Nagamangala 1135 A.D.).

(d) Single, double, triple or quadruple towers with *ardha mandapa*, *navaranga*, and a *mukha mandapa* (Koravangala 1173 A.D.), (Doddagaddavalli 1113 A.D.), Basrhal.

(e) Double (in a row or at right angles), or five shrine cells – with *ardha mandapa* (for each), common *navaranga*, and a *mukha mandapa* combined with Nandi *mandapa* side entrances. (Halebid 1145 A.D.), (Govindanahalli 1150 A.D.).

(g) Single or triple shrines with all axial elements plus separate *sringara chori mandapa*. Hedatale, Amirtapura, Arsikere, Suttur etc. (13th century A.D.).

(h) Single or triple shrines – with the *full* axial unit complete for the chief cella, and the sub-shrines added thereafter, with *mukha mandapa* and outer *sringar chori mandapa* (Belavadi 13th century A.D.).

Constructional values : The rich heritage of the stone structural devices in joinery, bonding, locking, intercolumniation and coursing, available alike in the Deccani Chālukyan temples, and especially in the coastal and upland Kadamba, Konkana zones, had been more confidently followed by Hoysaḷa craftsman, owing to their direct utility and scope for the soft stone quarrying and dry bond construction, in contrast to the devices implicit in the harder granite workmanship of the adjacent southern and eastern zones. This especially involved in Hoysaḷa structural formale, undressed and unfinished core parts for the externally embellished slabs, alike for the attics of the domed ceilings and flat roofs, or when these attics are absent and the roof bulged out with rough dome tops and were secured in mortar finish. Till about the last stages, the exposed and bare stone roof pattern of the coastal and high land zone obtained, with an embellished parapet walling, the roof slabs secured in ridge-and-channel and other locking and drainage devices. That they had to construct the main walls to considerable thickness, even for erecting comparatively medium sized *vimana* tower would, however, show that they did not

want their prolific veneer creations of great artistry to buckle-up and crumble due to overload, and to this extent, their training and pedigree was designed mainly for the soft-stone modelling of the coastal and Deccani heritage, than for the granitic Pallava-Chola-Nolamba nexus.

Thus, the essence of Hoysaḷa architectural essaying is its extreme stylization of the model, and on the biological analogy of over-specialization of body, was destined to become extinct. In its own lifetime, however, it stood out for a prodigious exercise in figural art, making it almost glyptic, with a tantalisingly original projection of the wall and tower profile, and a unitary cohesion to its otherwise storeyed or tiered superstructural components. It was, in any event, the most enchanting subversion, in mediaeval times in Peninsular south-India, of the northern temple vesture, to a basically southern body.

SALABHANJIKAS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE IMAGES AT BELUR

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THE SALABHANJIKAS ARE also called Salabhanjikas, Silaputthalikas or Silaputrikas, Surasundaries, Apsaras and Madanakais in literary works. They are known to the Hoysaḷa artists as Salabandikes or simply as Puttalis ; although they are popularly known now by the term Madanaka, the last being a corrupt form of the Sanskrit word Madanaka. All these terms are applied to the sculptures which are associated with the architectural complex of the pillar. In the majority of cases, these images are relieved either on the shaft or on the upper portions of the *stambha*, but in the Chalukya-Hoysaḷa structures they are invariably carved in the round and then affixed between the capital and the entablature. Because of this connection, they are called Stambhaputtrikas or Stambhaputtalikas.

According to J. P. Vogel, the term Salabhanjika is derived from a festival associated with the *Sal*-tree. This festival is mentioned in the Buddhist works, *Avadanasataka*, *Jatakas*, *Lalitavistara* and *Mahavastus*. Panini also alludes to it as a pastime. "The etymological meaning of the term *Salabhanjika* is, therefore, perfectly clear", says Vogel, "the first member of the compound indicating the sale (or *sala*) tree, known to botanist under the appelation of Vatica robusta, while the second member is derived from the verbal root *bhanj* or *bhaj* (- to break). "But this word has quite a different significance and the dictionaries usually explain it as meaning a statue. Vogel accounts for the transition of this meaning by assuming that the word originally denoted not only the festival of *sal*-flower gathering, but also the women who took part in it. In course of time it came to be "adopted as a technical term to designate in general any carving of a female seizing the branch

of a tree. Gradually, as the etymological meaning of the word was still further extended it was implied to any female image carved on a pillar."

Disagreeing with Vogel, Rama Pisharoti suggests that the women and tree combination is to be understood through the rite of *dohada* or "the fertilizing of trees, plants and creepers by the contact of women". He claims that it is possible to cite references to this rite from the literary works of about fifteen hundred years, beginning from the time of Kalidasa. This rite is always performed by the women and is confined to ten select trees. According to a version, the "creeper Priyangu puts forth new blossoms by the touch of women; Bakula (Mimusops Elengi) through the sprinkling of liquor gargled by them; Asoka (Jonesia Asoka), through the kick of their foot; Tilaka (Clerodendrum Phlomoides) and Kuravaka (Red Amarynth) through their glance and embrace respectively; Mandara (Erythrine Indica) through their sweet words; Cuta (Mangifera Indica) by blowing with their mouths, Nameru (Elaeocarpus Ganitrus) through their dancing in front of it." According to this version, the *dohada* rite could be performed either by a process that involved a direct bodily contact such as kicking, touching or embracing, or by a process in which the direct bodily contact is not involved such as spitting liquor, blowing, laughing, glancing, speaking, singing, dancing, or by simply standing near a tree.

Whether the tree and women motif in art symbolizes the festival of the *sal*-flower gathering or the rite of the *dohada*, or is connected with the birth of the Buddha as we sometimes find this motif in this context, to the artists who carved them they were definitely more than symbolical. Almost from the very beginning the original idea of the Salabhanjika seems to have borne less direct relation with its literal meaning, for in the sculptural composition neither do we invariably find the *sal*-tree, nor are the women always engaged in playing with its branches. This accounts for the transition of the meaning of the term to an image of a young women, or an image associated with a tree. The *dohada* rite helps to explain the meaning of

many of these sculptures, which are not bending a tree but are engaged in singing and dancing. Once the idea was established, the artists found abundant scope for exhibiting their talent through combining a sculpture of a lady with that of a tree. They had only an idea to work upon and no canons or conventions to adhere to; enjoying this freedom, the artists of each school utilised the theme or symbolism to express themselves freely of their own idea of feminine beauty and grace. A careful study of the images from the Bharhut to the structures of the Vijayanagara dynasty reveals not only a vast progress made on this theme, but also the varied ways in which these images have been carved and set in different architectural contexts. Vogel mentions that these carvings have no "structural, but a purely decorative significance", as they are always "carved *in relievo* on the column". Although their decorative functions cannot be under estimated, it is worth nothing that they are not always carved on columns. At Sanchi, for example, they bracket the capital with an upper member, the lowermost band of the *torana*. The sculptures of Bharhut, and Mathura, are carved on railing uprights, stretching to the whole length. Similarly in the Chalukya-Hoysaḷa structures, on the one hand, and the Vijayanagara and subsequent structures, on the other, their architectural contexts vary. In the early Chalukyan caves, they are almost invariably carved *in relievo* on entablature, but not on the shaft of the pillar. In the later-Chalukya and Hoysaḷa structures, they are carved in the round. In the Vijayanagara and other subsequent structures, they are again carved *in relievo* on the shafts. Of all these, the Chalukya-Hoysaḷa compositions are unique, for in them instead of bending or kicking or reclining against the trees, we commonly find the maidens either singing, dancing, unting or decorating. They are almost always set against trees, and the majority of them are accompanied by attendants. In the early-Chalukyan works, this composition more often consists of a couple, indulging in dailliance or *maithuna*.

Of several sculptures carved by the artists of different schools, the Salabhanjikas of the Hoysaḷas are undoubtedly

the most florid and intricate, and of those that have survived they are the most numerous, if not the best in quality. These sculptures were viewed as a part of their architectural complex, but their architectural function was not very significant. Of a dozen or so temples that originally contained them, they are now preserved only in some. There is enough evidence to think that they were originally a part of the pillar-complex in the *mantap* of the tripurantakesvara temple at Balligamve and in the *navaranga* of the Chennakesava temple at Nagalapura, but in both they have been completely destroyed. In the Chamundesvari temple at Undigenahal, only one has survived. Three of the four sculptures are found in the *navaranga* of the Keshava temple at Marale, only five are seen now. The Hoysalesvara temple at Halebid undoubtedly contained the largest number, but excepting six and five respectively in the northern and southern *navarangas* and two at the second doorway of the eastern section, all others are destroyed. In the Brahmesvara temple at Kikkeri eleven images are found. In number, these are second only to the Chennakesava temple at Belur, where, of the original forty-four sculptures, forty-two survive almost intact. This is the only temple that affords us scope to study them in their original setting.

Irrespective of their significance and of the symbolism that governed their concention, the exhibition of as many facets of feminine physique, grace and beauty appears to have remained uppermost in the minds of the artists who carved them. In the incriptions of the time, we come across descriptions of "varied and captivating female figures" causing the onlookers to wonder whether they were "the famous women at the points of the compass or groups of beautiful statues". A structure that contained such "elegant female figures" was indeed "an abode of beauty and a joy to the sight." As mentioned earlier, all these are rendered freely, the only governing element being a broad thematic scheme. Some are simple, rustic huntresses, others accomplished dancers or musicians. Whether they hunt or dance, whether they are estranced by the music or by their own reflection in a mirror, their outward

gestures and movements are selected to transmut the manifold forms of physical beauty. They may be human or divine, but beyond all else they are above ordinary earthly-beings, for their refinement and skill in dance, music and the arts ; and the physical grace and beauty they are endowed with, undoubtedly elevated their stature from the rest of the mortals. They embody within themselves the force and grace of different *rasas* and exhibit them in several arts. Their beauty is captivating ; it challenges those who have renounced worldly attachment, and enslaves the rest. Woman has always been exalted and condemned by the Indian sages – for she has always been viewed as having a dual personality. She is an embodiment of life and death, love and sex, lasting magnanimity and burning jealousy : as such she is at once loved and abhorred, honoured and condemned. The Salabhanjikas appear to represent these contradictions, for they are conceived and composed with all these elements ; hence, they may be regarded both as earthly and divine, good and evil, life and death at the same time. Just as they symbolically link the *stambha* (leg) with the *sikhara* (head) in a structure, they appear to bridge these contraditions at the same time. If they are taken as akties, they radiate the prowess of the deity enshrined in the sanctum ; if as Apsaras, they float in space and bridge heaven with earth ; if they are human, they ideally represent the best and the worst in mortals. For these very facts, their roles are complex, their status is uncertain and their significance indefinable. But their primary function was to impart "a joy to the sight", as the poet of the day has expressed it, and this function they undoubtedly fulfil.

Of the forty-two sculptures found in the Chennakesava temple at Belur, thirty eight adorn the pilasters of the outer wall, the other four are attached to the central pillars of the *navaranga*. Only three are male, or dressed as males; the rest are female. All the males are musician-dancers : one dances blowing a flute, the other two dance beating drums. The latter are older than the first and bear beards and moustaches. Inspite of their masculine appearance, the arrangement of their

hair and ornaments and their physiological features are very close to those of the female figures. We do not know whether the Apsaras themselves are dressed as males; if not, the sculptors seem here to have failed to bring out the proper masculine traits. The Hoysaḷa sculptor generally made no distinction in the arrangement of the hair and ornaments of the male and female figures, and but for the surface anatomy on the torse and the *udarabandha,* it is not always easy to distinguish one from the other. The sculpture of a boy playing the flute bears a close resemblance to that of Krsna, while the other two are ordinary drummers. But it is interesting to note these themes in bracket figures, for so far we have only come across either female figures alone or *mithuna* couples.

The subject-matter of the female figures also considerably varies; some represent goddesses or Apsaras, while others appear to be no more than ordinary mortals. Of the former, two can be easily identified as Bhairavi, for they wear *jata-mukutas* studded with skull and hold skull-maces and bowls in their hands. Another appears to represent Sarasvati as she is engaged in teaching, with a book in one hand and the *suchi-mudra* in the other. She is flanked on either side by two female attendants who bear fruits and whisks in their hands. One of the *navaranga* images is attributed with an elaborate *kirita* and pig-tails and bears certain unusual elements that may be explained by its divine status. According to a local tradition, this image represents Santale, queen of Vishṇuvardhana and a mistress of music and dance, but it is also possible that it was intended to represent Sarasvati, goddess of music, dance and all arts and letters. Another image of the same place, carved by Chavana, may also represent the Nrtya-Sarasvati. Two images on the outer wall appear to be those of Mohini, the destroyer of Bhasmasura. According to a local tradition, Mohini enticed the *asura* by her charm and induced him to dance with her at Belur. The images of a dancer, with her right palm held above the head may be identified with this goddess. All these divinities serve as bracket-figures in this temple, a feature that is peculiar to the Hoysaḷas.

Unlike these, the rest of the bracket-figures are based upon various secular themes. There are some which depict a maiden with a mirror, either engaged in admiring her own reflection or in improving her form by various types of decoration. In this group falls another set of sculpture of the same theme, but without the mirror. One is arranging her long, thick hair, applying oil to smooth the curls and knots; another is about to adorn herself with a ring. These are assisted by attendants. In yet another, a maiden is standing on her right leg, bending the left towards an attendant who is about to fix a ring on her toe.

Another set of sculptures portray dancing, singing, hunting and other sports. A maiden is shooting an arrow at two birds perching in a tree; her attendant is supplying her with arrows and holding a pet deer. Such hunting incidents are repeated in two other sculptures: in one the whole party is shown returning from a hunt, the lady dancing in joy at her success, an attendant carrying the prey, an antelope, and another servant, exhausted and weak is resting on a bow allowing herself to be helped by a male member in removing a thorn from her left sole.

Dance and music, as mentioned above, are used as a convenient means for revealing physical grace. Everyone of these is articulate whether explicitly involved in dance or not. Of the dancer-musicians, some beat different types of drums, keeping in step with the rhythm. One beats a *damaruga* holding it obove her head, while the others beat *davanes* in various other ways. One is beating the *damaruga* and the *tala* at the same time and dancing to their rhythm. Similarly others are dancing while playing on different types of *vina*. Others are fully engaged in the dance, swinging their hands in various *mudras*, while their attendants supply music, others are singing. One is dancing with a fan in her right hand and betel-leaves in the left.

The other sculptures are based upon themes which are fairly familiar to us. All these are set in the *srngara-rasa*, revealing emotional urge and sensuous longing. Some beauties

are absorbed in conversation or playing with parrots, a symbol of love and a carrier of the message of longing. This is effectively and frankly portrayed in a pillar bracket in the *navaranga*. The bird, perching on the maiden's left arm-band has lifted her *hara* with its beak, exposing her adolescent form, while she, swooning with emotion, looks on helplessly and delicately holds the branch of a tree. Another is playing with a syringe holding betel-leaves in the other hand, the symbols associated with Kamadeva. A male attendant is helping her in her game by filling the syringe with the coloured water of *holi*. Two other images reveal a lady pestered by a monkey, a symbol of mischief, lust and sexual stimulation. This symbolism is plainly elucidated in the composition, for in one the monkey has succeeded in pulling off her garment, exposing her body. With shame and excitement, she is trying to drive off the animal at the same time as guarding her modesty. She is waving a branch to threaten the monkey, while her legs are tightly crossed and her left hand is firmly grasping her saree. Fear has caused a maiden who has found a scorpion in her garment to expose her nudity.

There is no way of telling how the artists themselves would have classified these pieces in terms of the nine sentiments, but for us, they are strikingly evident.

Of the *nava-rasas, srngara* is without doubt dominant here. It is exhibited by a number of sculptures. The *karuna* and *santa-rasas* are also inherent in the majority, for whether the maidens are engaged in hunting or dancing the expression of their moods is dignified, cool and graceful. *Bhava* and *hasya* are intermixed in such themes as the lady-and the monkey, while *bhibatsa* and *hasya* are combined in the composition of the lady scared by the scorpion. *Raudra* is explicit in the personality of Bhairavi and *adbhuta* in every posture of the dance and beat of the drummer. Each of the *navarasas* is not separated from the rest; although one of them is more dominant than the other.

All those figures share some common features. They are set against elaborate stelao and flanked by two or more

miniature attendants. They all stand on curved, but plain, pedestals. The brackets, as stated earlier, are attached at 40 to the vertical line of the shaft, and the onlooker, standing between 6 ft. (in the *navaranga*) and 12 ft. (elsewhere) away from them will have to raise his head some 35° above the horizontal to bring them into his line of view. The sculptors have undoubtedly taken this architectural context into account while determining the forms of the sculptures and the direction and movement of their axes. The frontal plane dominates the composition, but the proportional relations of the major components of the figure are determined to suit visual convenience. This is achieved by exaggerating the projection of the upper body, particularly the torso, by over-emphasizing the curves, by shortening and recessing the legs of the attendant deities so as to put them in the shade. To achieve all these technical details he set almost all the figures in action involving movement, and this accounts for the absence of the rigid verticality of the frontal posture seen in the cult deities. Dance and music, play and sport, have become convenient to achieve the *tribhanga* and *atibhanga*, which, in turn, have introduced rhythmic curves in what would otherwise have been a grotesque frontality. Often the frontal posture is abandoned in favour of the profile to achieve the same purpose and to harmonise with the theme as with the huntress shooting an arrow. The *contrapposto* posture, involving the turning of the lower and upper half of the figure in mutually opposite directions and a favourite mode of expression of the Chandella sculptors, is generally absent in the Hoysaḷa works if not entirely unknown. A maiden dancing with a *damaruga* is the nearest example. The lower half of her body is in profile, while the upper portion is frontal. The entire weight is laid on her right leg : her left leg is held in the air, her hips thrust to the side and her torso set straight on the slanting waist.

The bracket consists of three main elements : the stela, the miniature attendants and the main figure. The upper portion of the stela is an expanse of a tree whose twigs branch off in delicate sweeps, and whose leaves and buds curl into intricate

patterns. Often the twigs branch at the top and flow in a symmetrical sweep on either side, or rise and fall uniformally from one end to another, or abruptly assume the shape of an arch.

The twigs weave themselves into a complicated knot with the convolutions of scrolls filling every inch of space. Whether they are copy-book patterns or imitations from nature or an outcome of the artists' own imagination, their quality and the standard of workmanship are unquestionably high. The Hoysaḷa artists insatiable urge for exhibiting his technical mastery has found its fulfilment here. Apparently each of the creeper canopies is different either in overall pattern or in minor detail. We see swans and monkeys perching within some convolutions or playing with their companions, in others these are replaced by flies, birds, chameleons and lizards. In one the sculptor has set a fruit within a convolution, fly sits on the fruit and is about to be swallowed by a lizard crouching nearby. These minor details often appear to serve no purpose, for at such a height and amidst so many other details these insects are hardly visible, but the artist apparently was indifferent to such constraints. His main aim was to achieve all that he could, he apparently assumed that what satisfied his own aesthetic taste would also satisfy that of others. Every artist in every age has made similar assumptions for without them there would have been no individuality between the works of artists or two schools. The highest aim of every artist is to stimulate curiosity, whether the emphasis is on the theme, artistic quality or quantity, or on the technical detail. The best will bridge all these elements, but the majority are dominated by one or the other. The Hoysaḷa artist despised simplicity, generally disliked repetition and all that lacked a grandiose quality, and no wonder he spurned considering the purposefulness of his work.

The miniature attendants at the base of the stela are undoubtedly the best parts of the whole composition, and as such often they deserve more careful attention than the main figures. Being small and simple and always in animation, they contrast with the grandiose and often grotesque main figures,

to which they impart life and supply meaning to their actions. To some extent they have extricated themselves from the usual burden of decorative schemes. The theme varies, but is always within the framework of serving or aiding the main figure. Some stand in the *tribhanga* posture holding whisks and fruits, others beat drums, strike *talas* and blow flutes. The men usually supply music, the women usually aid the principal figure in her toilet. Some hold mirrors, others offer flowers; some apply scents and colour; others adorn her with rings and jewels; some offer arrows, others carry game; yet others stand by mutely admiring her beauty and decorative complex. All these move with ease and act with dignity; every act is filled with emotional intensity. The attendant who carries the game, another who fills the syringe with the coloured water, the one who is holding a mirror and another hastening to kill the scorpion, are amongst the finest works in this scale. They all appear like live copies; even, they appear to be living and acting with utter disregard for time! Many of them are left exactly as they were carved in the 12th century.

The Salabhanjikas embody the physical and psychological elements of an adoloscent female. Harping upon puranic or mythical themes and the arts, upon various sports and the female instinct to improve and adorn her own appearance, the sculptors have tried to reveal as many facets as possible of mind and body. Every element can be insolated and enjoyed, but in their compositional contexts their meaning becomes intelligible to us. Their symbolism is as fascinating as their sensuous appeal.

Every one of these figures is dressed and decorated appropriately, though conventionally. Only three wear crowns, the others are adorned with elaborate coiffures which are identical in shape and design. The hairs are curled in the front, parted in the middle and decked with pearl strands. Sometimes the hair is wound into an intricate chignon at the back. Almost all wear *ratna-kundalas, haras, yajnopavita, armbanda,* rings, anklets etc. Some have shoulder tassels, and a few wear the *vaijayanti.* Instead of the latter, there is generally a *meluda,* or

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uttariya. There are the usual *tika* and *hara*. The *yajnopavita* is thick and jewelled. The undergarments, excepting those in which a monkey or a scorpion scares a lady, are of the normal conventional type consisting of heavily jewelled waist-bands and pearl-strands with a long or small central tuft and stiff and heavy side-tassels. All these ornaments are generally found in the other sculpture, but the elimination of shoulder tassels, simplification of *haras* and the replacement of the *vaijayanti* by a *meluda* account for the minor differences found in these figures.

The elements that dominate in the female figures are the variety of ornaments and the massive weight of the volume. These are particularly exaggerated in the females, but they are not altogether absent in the males. The nude volume seems to burst though the network of ornaments and undergarments, which endeavour as it were to develop it; between the two the sculptural form struggles in vain and the composition becomes confusing. Some ornaments are eliminated, yet there are many to obscure or incorcerate the form. The head is like a hive of bees, an ideal which is carefully conceived and meticulously worked out, but not necessarily congruous and harmonious. The eyes of the majority resemble fish, the nose is pointed if not narrow, the mouth is well-moulded with a thick upper lip and the chin is well-formed. Inspite of the exaggerated curls and schematised mould, the face is the best part of the whole composition in the sculpture of this school. A dreamy, graceful simplicity and a mature dignity dominate it, whether the face of a cult icon or a secular figure. This is to a great extent shared by the male figures. But the rest of the body suffers from one defect or another. The arms are rather heavy and drooping. The shoulders are short. The breasts are often vertically stretched and bulge lifelessly. The waist line terminates above the navel and the waist is almost always over-stated. The belt that clasps the abdomen leaves a flat, vacant space between the navel and the lower garment. The things and legs are modelled on that of an elephant's trunk, but the lower portion of the leg ends abruptly making the trunk short and stumpy. Often

flexion in the body and movement of one kind or another add animation and reduce some of these defects, but even so every part seems to groan under the weight of the flesh and the ornaments. The latter are not only multiple, but every one is elaborated in design and increased in breadth and weight. The *sires-chakra* appears to weigh down the face, the armlets, bangles and anklets check the fluidity of the limbs, the multiple *haras, yajnopavita,* and *keyuras* throw a knot over the torso, envelop the surface modelling and even pull down the neck. The lower garment seems to have been conceived to maintain symmetry rather than cover the nudity or to aid or enhance the beauty of the figure. But all these elements, which appear to be the chief defects, are deliberately planned and meticulously worked out. As in every other facet of their works, the artists are lost in the labyrinthine detail of their pompous and grandiose schemata. Their chisels work with care on every individual item but there is an utter disregard for the accumulated effect of such individual items. Without a couple of ornaments and without the exaggeration of curves and movements, these artists whould have achieved a remarkable success, but such achievements had already been made and the Hoysala artist was not interested in repeating them. He aimed at something which no one had done before. He deliberately shunned simplicity and chose floridity; his stone, his chisel and his cultural environment were quite suited for this purpose. While observing the elaboration of detail, the robust anatomy and a childish pleasure for the minutiae, one cannot but wonder whether this is the art of the tribal people, which only the *malepas* of the time could fully enjoy and take pride in. This tribal taste for detail, variety and extravaganza appear to have started the imperial house of Vijayanagara.

But all these general observations do not reduce our admiration for some of the achievements of this school. The majority of figures are able to absorb our attention and evoke our interest. The detail of the workmanship, which presupposes abundant patience, skill and labour is amazing. What appear to be an eternity of labour has been carelessly and

casually spent upon an infinitely small detail which only an artist of immense devotion to his work and confidence in its merit could do. He is never defeated technically, and there are very few things that escape his experimental curiosity. Whether he fails or succeeds in his art, he never fails to convevy his message. This is the chief achievement of the Hoysala artist. He plays upon a variety of themes, but endows every figure with dignity and grace. The elegance of the movement, the strength and the vitality in the adolescent limbs, the grace and dignity of the face survive and outshine the *embarrass des richesses* that outwardly envelop each figure.

SRI KEDARESWARA TEMPLE AT HALEBIDU—A STUDY

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PRESENT HALEBIDU, IN Hassan District, was the quondam capital of the Hoysaḷas under the name Dvārasamudra. Even to-day numerous ancient remains of the Hoysaḷa times are pointed out in the vicinity of the modern village though time has wrought much destruction ; some of the temples have altogether disappeared while the remaining ones have lost some of their important features. Among the notable monuments still left standing at the place, the most important one is no doubt the twin temple of Hoysaḷēśvara and Śāntalēśvara situated to the south of the village. Behind it, further south, are situated three jain bastis dedicated to Pārsvanātha (west), Ādinātha and Śānthinātha in the confines of the village of Bastihalli. A furlong to the east of these Jain Bastis is situated this small beautiful gem of Hoysaḷa architecture, the Kedareswara temple. This temple as others in the place, has lost its fine *vimana* which was in existence though in a ruinous condition in 1876 when Mr. Fergusson visited it and has produced an elevation of the temple from a photograph taken by one, Capt. Tripe (History of Indian and Eastern Architecture by J. Ferguson ; Revised by James Burgess, London, 1910, Vol. I, p. 443). Mr. L. Rice had provided two views of the temple as it looked in 1866 and 1886 (E.C., V, Pl. 1, 1902). Many fine sculptures of this temple were transported to and set up in the premises of the Hoysaḷēśvara temple. Subsequently when the temple collapsed, the public works department of the Mysore Government reconstructed what was left of the temple in the beginning of this century as a memento to the then ruling king of Mysore Krishnaraja Wodeyar IV. The flat roof is of this period. Since a good number of carved pieces of the earlier

structure were missing, empty blocks of stone have been inserted and some attempts at imitating the earlier carvings may also be seen which depict the inferior skill of craftsmen of these times. In the process of this reconstruction a number of chiselled blocks of the earlier times have also been misplaced as can be seen from the discontinuity of the narrative panels of the epics in the decorative bands on the basement. Bearing these facts in mind and the resultant incongruities, we must attempt to study the history, architectural eminence and light it throws on culture of those times.

This temple at Haḷebiḍu was caused to be built by the Hoysaḷa ruler Ballāḷa II and his queen Abhinava Ketaladevi in A. D. 1219. Ferguson calls this structure as "One of the most exquisite specimens of Chālukyan (Hoysaḷa) architecture in existence and one of the most typical *(Ibid.)*. It resembles in some details the Kēśava temple at Somanathpur though it is smaller in dimensions. Like any typical Hoysaḷa structure, it is a star shaped triple-celled temple with sixteen points. The hind portion of the structure, the sanctum proper, resembles the half star exactly, with nine prongs while the front portion is more rectangular with its points at right angles. The structure stands on a raised platform or Jagathi of this shape and the contour of the rest of the elevation follows this alignment immaculately, thus giving scope for the play of light and shade on the outer surfaces of the structure (At each of the prongs, the Jagathi is provided with elephant supports). The entire wall surface has been utilised for decorative carving wherein the sculptors have endeavoured to give off their best and thus make the structure an artist's paradise in the real sense of the term, but at the same time providing a rich material evidence for the modern historian, of the culture of those times. Though the carvings in the successive bands of the basement are not in themselves of the best workmanship, the rich details in the modes of dress, ornaments, religious and social themes depicted therein are of great historical value.

From the bottom upwards, on the basement are depicted in successive horizontal bands (1) Elephant frieze, (2) Frieze of

horse-riders in battle array, (3) a floral scroll, (4) Frieze of lion faces, (5) again a floral scroll, (6) Friezes depicting scenes from the epics, puranas, besides occasional social and religious panels etc., (7) Frieze of makaras and finally (8) a frieze of swans. These eight successive bands occur all round the structure. But on the outer walls of the front and the second compartments alone above the bands already mentioned occur two more bands, (9) the one above the swan frieze consists of small compartments with dwarfish demi-God figures and (10) finally above that another band which now survives on the left side of the second compartment depicting some interesting panels. On the back part of the structure i.e., on the outer walls of the triple cells above the eighth band depicting the swan frieze are chiselled one hundred and seventy six major images depicting various Gods and Goddesses of the Hindu Pantheon and others which may not have any religious connotation.

Now let us examine the carvings in the bands in some detail. The elephants in the first frieze are richly caprisoned and depicted in a variety of lively poses. Very few of them resemble each other. Most of these beasts are mounted by two riders. Occasionally a footman is shown in between these beasts in the act of attacking them with a sword. These elephant bands occur on the basement of almost all the Hoysaḷa temples and the Hoysaḷa sculptors were quite adept in depicting these elephants in all their anatomical detail and in naturalistic and vigorous style.

The second band consists of a frieze of horsemen in battle array generally flashing a sword at the unseen enemy. The horses are somewhat disproportionate in bodily depiction with unseemly long faces and in some cases, unnaturally vertically raised stocky tails, only in some cases being shown in a natural position. The animals are very bulky and give an impression of lack of agility. The riders are not depicted very proportionately either, but their attire is of some interest. Their feet are shown in strirrups ; they wear boots well upto their knees–resembling present day gum-boots ; the shorts they

are wearing reach almost down to their knees thus almost covering their legs above the boots. A few of these riders are wearing a waist belt in which is stuck a dagger or short sword. Some others are provided with shields while yet others carry long spears. These differing equipment would give us an idea of the variety of weaponry used by the cavalry. While majority of these horses are shown as galloping in a clockwise direction, a few, here and there are facing the reverse direction and marching as though they are charging at the neighbouring riders. Occasionally in the midst of these galloping horses, are shown footmen with swords and shields attacking the cavalry.

Occasionally some of the horses have been provided with a special type of protective body armour. The entire body of the animal except the head, neck and the legs below the knee are covered with what looks to be a metallic armour marked all over with double rings interspersed with smaller single rings. Even the waist and the thighs of the riders are covered by this armour. In some other cases the designs on the armour are linear bands with criss-cross and floral designs. Generally the horses with this type of protective armour carry shield bearers and rarely swordsmen and are depicted at regular intervals. While almost all the horses in this band are depicted in galloping posture with vertically down bent faces, there is one exception – in the middle of the first compartment on the northern side of the temple. It exhibits a long vertically poised neck, horizontally held face. Curiously enough, the animal carries a drum and a drummer and the animal is slowly walking not galloping. The animal looks more like a camel than horse.

The third band consists of a floral scroll with creepers entwining backwards to form circles while another creeper emerging from the former continues to run forth.

The fourth band is made up of lion faces with occasionally slightly differing poses particularly in the depiction of their tails which are bent above the body, the end curled in a ring like fashion. Occasionally a footman is shown in the act of attacking the lion, recalling the famous Hoysaḷa crest of Sala attacking the lion.

The fifth band again consists of a floral scroll similar to the third band described above.

The sixth band which I consider as the most important, depicts various scenes from Ramayana, Mahabharatha, Bhagavatha besides occasionally depicting some social scenes, dancing females and male and female figures. It may be mentioned once again that the epic and puranic scenes are not always presently found in their serial order, probably due to the work of renovation in the beginning of this century.

Going clockwise from the main entrance on the east, they occur in the following order. A few of these scenes which in my opinion are not very important are not noticed.

—Hanuman carrying on his shoulders Rama.

—Rama and Lakshmana in separate chariots followed by footmen.

—Rama fighting the demons.

—The Gods and the Demons churning the ocean.

—The emergence of nectar *(Amrithakalasa)*.

—The emergence of Sree and acceptance of Her by Visnu.

—The Sun and the Moon Gods distributing the nector.

—Then follow some panels whose import is not clear. One of these depicts a dhyani-Buddha like seated figure with elephants with riders on both sides, paying respect to the central figure. Next occurs a similar dhyani figure with hooded cobras shielding him. Another similar figure in the midst of flames. A fourth padmasanastha figure in upadesha mudra. A few other unidentified scenes, some fighting scenes, warriors etc. One of them shows Narasimha killing Hiranya Kasipu.

—Then Rāma chasing the antelope.

—Bhīśma on the bed of arrows - *Saratalpa*.

—A few more pannels depicting devine figures, warriors etc.

—A king in a palanquin guarded by sword and shield bearing warriors.

—Then occurs labelled panel, the inscriptions at the bottom consisting of three letters—ಕಬನ್ಮ (probably ಕಬನ್ದ). The carving consists of a human torso with hands extended in a

bent style on both sides. There is no head or face above the torso, but the belly portion resembles the human face. The lower part of the body from the waist downwards resemble the body of an animal with hind legs slightly kicked back to the left while there occurs the stretched leg of this central figure. On the right of the central figure is a man with folded hands and to the left is man-shaped monkey, face turned towards the central figure and the tail raised almost upto the outstretched left hand of the central figure. This panel may represent the curious-shaped Kabanda, the demon whose episode occurs in the Ramayana.

—Rama receiving Hanuman.

—Sugriva's meeting with Rama and Lakshmana in the Gandhamadana mountain.

—Rama accompanying Sugriva for a fight with Vali.

—Vali defeating Sugriva.

—Rama shooting through the seven tala trees.

—Vali-Sugriva fight.

—Vali being shot by Rama's arrow.

—Monkeys respectfully receiving Sugriva on his triumphant return to Kishkindha.

—Sugriva's coronation.

—Rama giving the ring to Hanuman.

—The forest scene with monkeys searching for Sita.

—Madhuvana scene with monkeys merry-making.

—Monkeys, before the ocean, in counsel (two panels).

—Hanuman starting to jump from Mandara mountain.

—Fight with a sea monstress.

—Encounter with the demons at Lanka.

—Meeting with Sita, giving the ring and receiving the Chudamani.

—Hanuman pulling down the gateway of Asokavana.

—Indrajit fighting Hanuman.

—Hanuman before Ravana.

—Burning of Lanka.

—Rama shooting his arrow against the Ocean,

—Sethubandha,

—Beginning of the Ramayana war. A number of panels are partly or completely destroyed at this juncture.
—Lakshmana falls unconscious.
—Rama-Ravana fight.
—Ravana's death.
—Vibhishana's coronation.
—Reunification of Rama and Sita.
—Rama, Lakshmana and Sita return to Ayodhya.
Then occur a few panels which should have occured earlier but which are evidently misplaced.
—Sushena's treatment of Lakshmana with Sanjivini.
—Hanuman bringing Sanjeevini along with the hill.
—Some more Ramayana war scenes.
—Sri Rama Pattabhisheka (?) damaged.
—Some more Ramayana war scenes.
—Some unidentified scenes, one of which depicts a bear (or boar ?) mauling a lady under a tree.
—Warriors around a seated king. The king is seated on a low stool and appears to be in counsel in a battle field.

Mahabharatha Panels :

—Gograhana.
—The following battle scenes.
—The next panel probably represents Draupadi with flowing locks, in fulfilment of her vow, oiling her hair with Dussasana's blood in the battle field.
—More battle scenes.
—Bhima's fight with Bhagadatta's elephant.
—Arjuna's fight with Samsaptakas.
—Drona's giving up the arms on encounter with Sikhandi.
—Drona's death at the hands of Dushtadhyumna.
—Drona's fight.
—Abhimanyu going for battle.
—Chakravyuha.
—Abhimanyu fighting inside the Chakravyuha (damaged)
—Ghatotkacha and his demons fighting during the night.
—Bhisma on bed of arrows.

—Bhima—Duryodhana Gadayuddha.
—Some panels of Gods and war scenes.

Bhagavatha Panels:

—Gods headed by Brahma, praying Seshasayi Vishnu to rid the earth of wicked demons.
—Krishna's birth.
—Vasudeva crossing the Yamuna with baby Krishna.
—Entrusting Krishna to Nanda Gopa.
—Putani suckling the child Krishna.
—Childhood pranks of Krishna.
—Felling of the trees by dragging the mortar (oralu-kallu).
—Krishna playing with the Gopis.
—Killing of Dhenukasura.
—Lifting of Govardhana mountain.
—Rasakrida or stealing the sarees of the bathing Gopis.
—Kaliyamardhana.
—Fight with the Guards at Mathura.
—Visit to the jewellers at Mathura.
—Killing of the elephant in rut.
—Defeating Chanura, the Wrestler.
—Fight with Kamsa.
—Ugrasena's coronation.
—A few battle scenes.

The seventh band above this is made of makaras with upraised faces and widely gaping mouths and above the animals are chiselled creepers.

The eighth band consists of a frieze of swans with their raised tails depicted sumptuously resembling creepers.

On the front and the second compartments alone above the swan frieze, where major sculptured panels do not occur, are depicted, in a band, a number of small nitches with Yaksha figures, seated on flat pedestals, wearing a crown, ear ornaments, a necklace and yagnopavita, with upraised hands, holding in the right a creeper or flower and a fruit in the left.

Above this band is another, now surviving only on the left side of the second compartment which contains some interesting sculptures. Going anti-clockwise, they are:

1. Royal durbar, probably of Ballāḷa II, with the King seated on a high stool, the female figures on sides bearing chauris, and then occur warriors with various arms like swords, oblong shields etc. May it represent the King in Counsel on a battle field since the usual paraphernalia of a durbar scene are missing? If so, it reflects the heltic battle-ridden times of Ballāḷa who was busy in many fronts during this period.
2. A male dancer.
3. A male flutist.
4. A male figure with a staff in the right hand and what appear to be an akshamala and a serpant hood in the left hand.
5. A male warrior standing in tribhanga, sword in the right hand something in the left, wearing a dress.
6. A seated sword bearer.
7. A dancer.
8. An erotic scene (the female lying below, the male in the act of intercourse and squeezing the breasts of he lady). The lady is lying on a cot with three pairs of legs on which the bed, pillow and bed-sheet are clearly shown.
9. A dancer.
10. Sword and shield bearing warrior.
11. Incomplete carving.
12. Two drummers.
13. Female dancer.
14. Standing male.
15. Man and woman standing, the man with a dagger in the right hand, both of them with under garments from waist to knee.
16. Erotic couple in the act of intercourse, similar to one mentioned above.
17. Some noble, seated on a four legged stool with a sword in the right hand something in the left.

18. Two warriors, standing with oblong shields held downwards in the right hands and swords held aloft in their left hands, resting their hilts on their waists.

Among the major panels of Gods and Goddesses depicted on the hind portion i.e., on the outer walls of the triple-called sanctum proper, there are about one hundred and seventy-six of them, ninety of them being male and remaining eighty-six female. Two of these figures bear the names of their sculptors'– ಮು ಬ chiselled below them. It may be mentioned at this juncture that a few of the small sculptured panels occuring in the various bands on the panels have also one or two letters chiselled below them, the letter ಮು occurring in greater frequency. One of the Saraswathi figures on the right of the eastern flight of steps bears the name of the sculptor–ಹರಿಪ. Among the major divinities sculptured in these panels, the lion's share goes to the different avatars of Vishnu – some twenty-seven of them are there, as Vishnu 12, as Lakshminarayana–2, as Varaha–2, as Trivikrama–2, as Vamana–2, as Govardhanadhari–2, as Kaliyamardhana–2, as Venugopala–2, and as Rama–1. Siva's forms come next with twenty one panels as Siva–2, as Tandavesvara–8, as Umasahita–4, as Dakshinamurthy–1, as Gajasuramardhana–1 and as Bhairava–5. Brahma is depicted thrice, Ganapathi once, Durga five times, Mohini four times, Garuda once, Manmatha twice, Saraswathi–nine times and Mahishasuramardhini once. Besides the above the notable panels are Arjuna's Matsayantrabhedana, Ravana lifting mount Kailasa etc. There are numerous panels of drummers, musicians, dancers or ladies in the act of dressing along with their attendants. Noticeable among other panels are one with two monkeys holding between them what looks like a fruit (or Linga ?), four handed female figure resembling Suryanarayana or Brahmi the upper hands holding discuss and conch and the lower two lotuses, a male blowing a horn, wearing a kaupina, with a band above the right shoulder and below left arm, a three hooded cobra entwining below his waist from right to left, a vanara with a kaupina and large ear rings and hunters shooting a parrot etc. The figure of Dakshinamurthi

on the west wall has certain special features. It is wearing a long coat and hood, a neck ornament, and sandals with a snake entwined round the right hand.

The temple has 3 cells, the one on the north having lost its doorway. Each of the cells has two side niches. There are some 13 large ceiling panels on the interior of temple, 9 in the Navaranga, 1 in the sukhanasi, 2 in the side cells and 1 in the front porch. Some of them are adorned with lotus buds.

In this paper, an attempt has been made to give a brief and factual description of the sculptural wealth of the temple, a task which has not been attempted on a satisfactory way till now, devoting special attention to the minor carvings. Special stress has been laid on the dress of men and women, the weapons they were using in their warfare, the skill of the sculptors in depicting the animals and such other aspects which may be of interest to a student of the cultural history of the times, leaving the task of arriving at the relevant conclusions to the scholars interested therein.

THE INFLUENCE OF HOYSALA STYLE OF ARCHITECTURE ON SOUTH KANARA

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THIS IS A descriptive paper. And it is the product of my survey of the District of South Kanara as far I could. I should like to confess that this paper may have its own limitations which could be overcome with further intensive survey by the Department of Archaeology and researchers of special interest.

Introduction :

From the times of recorded history of Karnāṭaka it is learnt that the District of South Kanara, historically known as *Tuḷunāḍu*, was under the suzerainty of the Karnāṭaka overlords. The certainty of this historical truth gets revealed to us from the 7th c A.D. From the 7th c A.D. to the 15th c A.D. this tract of land was governed by a native royal family known as the Āḷupas, who inspite of their being subordinate to the imperial dynasties of the Kadambas of Banavāsi, the Chālukyas of Bādāmi, the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānyakhēṭa, the later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi, the Hoysaḷas of Dvārasamudra and the emperors of Vijayanagara, enjoyed a local sovereignty of their own without being seriously questioned in matters of administration. The chief outcome of this un-interrupted contact with Karnāṭaka was the impact of cultural influence. This is discernible chiefly in the sculptural styles manifesting in temple architecture. We have in the District of South Kanara manifest indications of this influence starting from the times of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi upto the period of the Nāyakas of Keḷadi. This observation does not mean that the sculptural styles come across in this area are a proto-type or copy of those prevalent in other parts of Karnāṭaka; but it means that the

general features or patterns seem to have been enriched by the incorporation of local variations.

The Theme of the Paper :

In this paper, an attempt has been made to discover and describe the nature and extent of the influence of the Hoysaḷa style or more aptly the later Chālukyan style on the architecture, historically persevering in the District of South Kanara. On actual field survey, it is found that this influence is more marked in the northern part of the District rather than the southern. It is rather difficult to ascribe reasons for this phenomenon.

The Later Chālukyan Style :

I feel it is superfluous to dialate on the features of the Later Chālukyan style or the Hoysaḷa style. Yet to brush our memory, we may recall to our minds that " the term Chālukyan which modern writers have applied to the large number of Hoysaḷa temples refer to the region under the occupation of this dynasty rather than to the dynasty itself." A large number of temples were built between A.D. 1050 to A.D. 1300 in the limited region of Mysore which speak volumes of unprecedented artistic activity. These edifices produced an architecture sufficiently distinctive to merit a separate name and classification. The Later Chālukyan style was a continuation of the early Chālukyan tradition in the supply of model from which the Hoysaḷa architects derived their ideas which were subsequently amplified and elaborated upon.

Twin-celled and multi-celled structures raised on low platforms with short horizontal arrangement of tiers, with the overbearing effect of sculptural details, with minutest attention bestowed on the pillars, cielings, doorways and jambs, the capitals, the brackets, the walls and the tower, with elegant but extravagant sculptural unbellishment and with intricacy of detail surpassing the work of a master goldsmith are the main characteristics of the period. To the spirit of this standard conform three temples of the District with their sculptures and

about a dozen masterpieces of Hindu econographic art. The three temples are (1) the Sēnēśvara temple, Baindūru, (2) the Śankaranārāyaṇa temple, Śankaranārāyaṇa and (3) the Ananthapadmanābha temple, Kārkaḷa.

The sculptures are those of:

1. Śrī Vēṇugōpālakrishṇa, Kōṭekēri, Bārakūru.
2. Śrī Veṇugōpālakrishṇa, Muḍukēri, Bārakūru.
3. Śrī Sarasvati (Śārada), Mūḍukēri, Bārakūru.
4. The Jaina Brahma, Bārakūru.
5. Śrī Gaṇēśa of Mūḍukēri.
6. Śrī Vēṇugōpālakrishṇa, the Kōṭēśvara Temple, Kōṭēśvara.
7. Śrī Janārdana, the Vishṇumūrti temple, Kārakaḍa, Kōṭā
8. Śrī Vishṇu, Vishṇumurti Temple, Giḷiyāru, Kōṭa.
9. Śrī Nārāyaṇa, the Vishṇumūrti Temple, Kōṭa.
10. Śrī Vēṇugōpālakrishṇa, Attāvara, Mangalore.
11. Śrī Vēṇugōpālakrishṇa of Kārkaḷa

A brief Description:

1. The Sēnēśvara Temple, Baindūru.

The Sēnēśvara temple, Baindūru, is a homogenous structure, perhaps, built in about the 12th c A.D. and bears the striking features of the Later Chālukyan style. It consists of a *garbha-gṛiha,* a *sukhanāsi* in front and a *navaranga* with nine *aṅkaṇas* (niches). The *navaranga* is entered through two porches, one in the east and the other in the south. The eastern porch has a delicately carved and polished bull whose couchant pose is simply enchanting. The front porch is raised on four pillars with cubical and circular petals followed by cubical and circular discs and square capitals. The southern porch is raised on two pillars and has over the roof well shaped heavy eaves. The basement friezes of the *garbhagṛiha, sukhanāsi* and *navaranga* have a number of cubical and dentil friezes horizontally disposed, while the southern parts have the same kind of friezes except dentil cornices. The basement cornices of the eastern porch are ordinary and low.

The temple is rectangular in shape with indentations and pilasters. The walls that are relieved by pilasters are quite plain. The outer face of the structure has four niches in which excuberantly carved images of Kāḷabhairava, Trimūrti, Chāmuṇḍa and Ugranarasimha are installed.

The *vimāna* over the *garbhagṛiha* is a stepped one. Just underneath the eaves of the *garbhagṛiha* and *sukhanāsi*, then is seen the prevalence of a horizontal band of flower petals, square in shape and deeply carved.

The outstanding feature of the monument is its accommodation to eleven masterpieces of Hindu iconographic art. They are the figures of two Dvārapālakas, Mahishāsuramardini, Shaṇmukha, Kēśava, Lakshmīnārāyaṇa, Śivaśakti, Sūrya, Śankaranārayaṇa, Saptamātrikas in a panel and Gaṇēśa. A verbal description may be a poor medium of appreciation of the artistic disposition of these sculptures. It may be scarcely possible to come across the type of Mahishāsuramardini as is seen here. Likewise, the Saptamātrika panel and Gaṇēśa depict their own marks of delicacy, charm and captivating fasination. There is a considerable restraint on ornamentation. The size of all these images varies between 2′ and 4′ in height. These are full figures and carved out of black soft stone, the material on which the sculptors could lavish their prolific skill.

2. *The Śankaranārayaṇa Temple, Śankaranārāyaṇa.*

The temple of Śankaranārāyaṇa, situated in the village of Shankaranarayana, consists of a *garbhagṛiha* and a *sukhanāsi*. The sukhanāsi has two pillars of the mid-Hoysaḷa period having cubical, octagonal and fluted mouldings. The temple is circumamtulated with a granite platform running all round which is based on cornices, cubical, octagonals etc. The platform has square pillars with octagonal fluted mouldings over which is constructed the stone slabbed roof characteristic of the District of South Kanara. Water spouts of the *simha* type project on either side of the temple four on each side.

The walls of the *garbhagṛiha* are relieved by pilasters, shallow niches, creeper-like designs, lotus designs, and

kīrtimukha with floral designs. The central part is superimposed by a tower-*vimāna*-which forms a characteristic feature of considerable note. The existence of two bulls on the southern side of the *vimāna* and two seated winged Garuḍas on the northern side clearly indicates that the temple is dedicated to Śankaranārāyaṇa. The three sculptural representations of Shaṇmukha, Narasimha and Śiva carved out of hard granite are full of vigour and charm and are masterpieces of the kind.

3. A marvel of Karnāṭaka Sculpture :

The temple of Anantapadmanābha of Anantaśayana in the town of Kārkaḷa richly deserves the attention of a student of architecture and sculpture. A study of the sculptures of this monument is bound to be a feast to the iconographist. But unfortunately its importance has been oblivioned owing to ignorance. Although it is now preserved as a national monument, nothing has been done to throw light on its significance. This temple of Anantapadmanābha is a *vyūha* type of temple the like of which is rarely found elsewhere in Southern India. Although we lack records, either epigraphical or literary, to give us the specific date of its construction, it may be inferred that the temple in its original form, apart from later accretions is assignable to the 12th - 13th centuries A.D. This inference is based on the evidence of the architectural style of the *garbhagṛiha* and of the images therein. Tradition has it that it was built by a Jaina Chief of Kārkaḷa (Bhairvēndra) belonging to the Bhairarasa dynasty in the late 16th century and the original construction was meant for a *basadi* (Jaina temple). The story is that refusal of the Jagadguru of Sringēri to take food at Kārkaḷa since there were no Hindu temples led to the installation under the direction of Bhairavēndra, of Śrī Anantapadmanābha in this structure meant for a *basadi*. But this tradition is hardly credible since the sculptures in style and detail do not belong to the 16th century, but are assignable to the Hoysaḷa period.

The *garbha-gṛiha* is square in plan and is circumambulated by a passage, about three feet in width. The chief deity as

Anantapadmanābha which is a marvel of sculptural skill. Carved out of black stone, the image is 10 feet 7 inches in length and more than of a tall man's height 8 feet high. Description of this image can scarcely be adequately attempted in verbal terms. Anantapadmanābha is depicted in the reclining pose, his head being placed on the right upper hand. The three coils of Mahāśēsha form the bedcushion for Anantapadmanābha and the seven hoods spread out at a height of 8 feet protecting the deity's head like bough. The conch is placed by the side. The discus is held in the upper left hand in the *prayōga* form and the lower left is shown as being securely placed on the stretched left leg. Bhūdēvi and Śrīdēvi are shown as being in service of the Lord at His feet. The long tower—like *kirīta*, profuse, ornamentation on the breast and delightful drapery and anklets lend special charm to the figure. A most striking feature of the image is the representation of Brahma seated on the lotus emerging from the navel of Padmanābha rising to a height of 7 feet. The skill and elegance involved in the depiction are simply amazing. The tranquil face suggests the Lord's freedom from trammels of whatever kind. The whole figure represents the Hoysaḷa style of sculpture at its best.

There are three niches on the outer side of the wall of the *garbha-gṛiha* accommodating *Sankarāshaṇa*, *Pradyumna* and *Aniruddha* All these images are 2 feet 3 inches in height and have their respective attributes. They are full of details and are well worked and seem to be carved contemporaneously. The pillars built into the wall on either side of the door of the *garbha-gṛiha* appear to be lathe-turned and are suggestive ofthe 12th–13th century in time. The embossed reliefs of the *dvārapālakas* close to the pillars are vigorous in execution. On the lentil of the door of the *garbha-gṛiha* is a fine relief of Gajalakshmi.

The following is the brief and modest description of the other Hoysaḷa sculptures mentioned above.

Śrī Vēṇugōpālakrishṇa, Kōṭekēri, Bārakūru :

This figure, which is a delightful representation in the typical Hoysaḷa style, can have claims to be regarded as one of

the best of its kind in Karnāṭaka. It is 4½′ in height from top to bottom and carved out of black soft stone is a full figure. The body is slim, face oval-shaped and drapery is profuse without ostentation. The reliefs of Vishṇu's *daśāvatāra* carved on the *prabhāvaḷi*, the serpentine *tōraṇa* and the ornamental *kirīṭa* are clearly suggestive of the style of the period. The flute is in the operative display. The representation of *śankha* and *chakra* on the right and left sides of the *prabhāvaḷi* respectively suggest that Lord Krishṇa is Kēśāva in spirit. The reliefs of cows at the feet of Lord Krishṇa are depicted in a fascinating manner. On the pedestal in front is the relief of Garuḍa, a symbol of Vaishnavism.

Śrī Vēṇugopālakrishṇa of Mūḍukēri, Bārakūru:

Here we have an example of the Hoysaḷa sculpture of the later phase. This image too is chiselled out of black soft stone but is only 2¼′ in height exclusive of the pedestal which bears the relief of Garuḍa. The background is a plain but excessively smooth rectangular slab with reliefs of *Chakra* and *Śanka* on the right and left sides of the arms of Lord Krishṇa suggestive of Janardana in spirit. The *tribhanga* pose and the manner in which the face is twisted to the left to enable the lips to play upon the flute are remarkably depicted. The *kiriia* appears to be embroidered and the top of the *prabhavaḷi* is carved with petals.

Śrī Sarasvati (Śārada) of Mūḍukēri, Bārakūru.

In carving out this figure 2′ high, the sculptor seemed to have invited the challenge of the intractable, hard granite. An epigraph of A.D. 1055 seems to have made reference to this deity as *'Kāshmīra Pravarpurada Śāradā Dēvi'*. With oval shaped *prabhāvaḷi* having prominent serpentine *tōraṇga* and with pilasters on either side, Śrī Sarasvati is shown in the *padmāsana* pose and contemplative demeanour. The upper two hands hold *ankuśa* and *pāśa* and the lower *pustaka* and *japasara*, the sacred attributes of Sarasvati. The breast is well and prominently rounded and ornamentation is modestly shown. The relief of *hamsa* is carved on the pedestal.

Śrī Gaṇēśa of Mūḍukēri, Bārakūru:

In a small dilapidated shrine this robust figure of Śrī Gaṇēśa makes his abode. The image is 3½′ in height and bears all the predominent Hoysaḷa features excepting serpentine *torana* on the *prabhāvaḷi*. *Kuṭhara, ankuśa, phala* and *danta* are Gaṇēśas attributes. His left tusk is depicted to have been broken since the proboscis takes a sudden turn from the mouth and renders itself into a coil at the mouth of the proboscis. The *kirīṭa* is profusely ornamented. This *Lambōdara* shares the beauty of a bridegroom.

Śrī Vēṇugōpālakrishṇa of Attāvara, Mangalore:

This deity is referred to in epigraphs of the 12th c A.D. as Chakrapāṇi Gōpināṭha. In height the figure is nearly 3′ and this is one of the finest sculptures of Lord Krishṇa belonging to the early Hoysaḷa period. Lord Krishṇa is shown in the usual *tribhaṇga* pose. The pedestal on which he stands has rudely worked horizontal cornices and exhibits on its front surface a set of cows flanking the centrally seated Garuḍa. He is modestly ornamented and at the bottom of the *prabhāvaḷi* are engraved cows and cow-herds on either side. He wears a *kirīṭa* over which is shown the *tamāla-vṛiksha*. The serpentine *tōraṇa* is made to flow down on either side which ultimately rests on the capitals of the pilasters carved on the *prabhāvaḷi*. Lord Krishṇa is depicted as playing on the flute, a pretty long one. On the whole the image with its delicately carved *prabhāvaḷi* presents a graceful appearance. The expression of the concorts of Chakrapāṇi is depictive of listening to the music, produced on the flute.

The Kōṭa group of Hoysaḷa Sculptures:

In a recent survey conducted by the Association of Indological Studies of Milagres College, Kallianpur, twenty Vaishṇava temples have been brought to light, many of them being in a most dilapidated condition. Amongst the images installed in them, three happen to be masterpieces belonging to the period under discussion. One is of Śrī Janārdana at

Kārakaḍa. This idol is 2½′ in height and is carved out of dark softstone. The chief feature of this sculpture is the lion pedestal (*simha pīṭha*) and the circular *prabhāvaḷi*. The whole figure is an embodiment of *lāvaṇya*. The right lower arm missing, the figure is mutilated.

The image of Lord Vishṇu at Giḷiyāru, 2¼′ high and carved out of black soft stone, is an incredibly charming figure almost identical with the one at Kārakaḍa. The facial expression is dignified and the smile is carassing. The image is well preserved. The icon of Śri Nārāyana at Kōṭa proper is 3′ in height and is chiselled out of hard granite. Perhaps, no other sculpture in the District is so much overlaid with carving embellishments as this figure, realistically representing the fully evolved Hoysaḷa style. This is a robust representation of Śrī Nārāyaṇa in sculpture. The consorts of the Lord are also shown in full figure on either side of the *prabhāvaḷi*.

The Jaina Brahma of Bārakūru:

This is a sculptural masterpiece assignable to the 12th–13th centuries A.D. and is 3′ in height. The concept of representing Brahma riding the horse is typically the same all over Karnāṭaka. The horse is depicted as most vigorous and in action, while Brahma is seated on the saddle life-like. The front feet of the horse are placed on the head of a tiger. The material chosen is black soft stone and the details are cristal clear.

Srī Vēṇugōpalakrishṇa of the Kōṭēśvara Temple, Kōṭēśvara:

Personally, I feel words are inadequate to describe this figure of 2½′ height. Jet black in colour, Śrī Krishṇa partakes of the general features of his depiction in sculpture. The horse-shoe *prabhāvaḷi* with three distinct classes of designs, the remarkable proportion and the dignified bearing are simply captivating.

Śrī Vēṇugōpāḷakrishṇa, Vanabhōjana, Kārkaḷa:

This is a typical sculptural piece of Hoysaḷa workmanship having a elegantly worked *simha-lalāṭa* from whose mouth

spring out two *makaras* on either side under which the serpentine *tōraṇa* and the representation of the *daśāvatāra* figures come down upto the top of the pilasters on either side of the image with *yaḷis* holding up the *tōraṇa*. Lord Krishṇa has above his head an overhanging *tamāla vriksha* with foliage, flower petals and bunches of fruits. He is in the usual *tribanga* pose and is playing on the flute. Behind him, on either side of the *prabhāvaḷi* there are the reliefs of *chakra* and *sankha*, which are assumed to be held by His other two hands.

One peculiarity of his head-dress is the prevalence of a straw-cap instead of the *kirīṭa*. Perhaps, this is indicative of the local use of such caps by the people of these parts hear the ghats, especially used by those who work in the open field. The appearance of the sculpture becomes all the more pleasing with the exquisitely carved ornaments, drapery and *yanōpavīta*. On either side of the image underneath the *prabhāvaḷi* the presence of square notches proves that there should have been two figures of the consorts of Lord Krishṇa, Rukmiṇi and Sathyabhāma.

Jaina Specimens of Hoysaḷa Art:

Quite recently in three places examples of later Hoysaḷa sculpture have been brought to light. They are (1) of the twenty four Tirthankaras in Hiriyangaḍi *basadi*, Kārkaḷa, (2) of a Yakshiṇi seated on the elephant in the Nēmināṭha *basadi*, Mūḍabidure and of Chandranāṭha in the Nēmināṭha *basadi* Varānga. The last one is an excellent bronze. Likewise, there is a one foot high elegant inscribed bronze in the Chandranāṭha *basadi*, Keravāse, Kārkaḷa.

VESTIGES OF HOYSALA RULE IN THE TAMIL COUNTRY

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SECTION—I

As Gangavadi or Mysore was a province of the Cōḷa empire in its most glorious period the resurgent Mysore (Kannada) power sought to restore the balance by acquiring a slice of the Tamil country from the Cōḷas, during the period of their decline and weakness. This was, however, acquired without much fighting in the reigns of Ballāḷa II and Narasiṁha II as a price of Hoysaḷa help to the Cōḷa against the rising Pāndya. Towards the close of Ballāḷa's reign, say by 1200, the Hoysaḷa kingdom had extended eastward along the banks of the Kāvērī, upto Kaṇṇanur, five miles north of Srirangam. His grandson Sōmēśvara (1236–54) developed in due course, in the words of D. M. Derrett, "a notorious perference for the Tamil country." With his seat at Kaṇṇanur, which he Christened Vikkramapuri, he ruled over his native kingdom together with the Hoysaḷa province in the Tamil country. At its widest extent this included parts of the modern Salem, Tiruccirappalli and Tanjavur districts.[1] The Tamil province was lost in the reign of Ramanatha during the brief but glorious *digvijaya* of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I (1256-58). It is worthy of note that a series of inscriptions in the Srirangam temple ranging from 1256 to 1269 carry the regnal years of Vira Ramanatha. An inscription dated in his third regnal year (1257) records the foundation of a *śālai* (*Ārōgyaśālai* or hospital) to the west of the northern *gopura* in the fourth *prakara*. The donor was Cingadeva Singana Dandanayaka, a *pradhani* of Vīra Rāmanātha. The hospital itself was entrusted to Garudavahana Pandita, the *rakshaka* of the donor.[2] Other inscriptions

1. D. M. Derrett, The Hoysalas (OUP, 1957), p. 118.
2. Madras Epigraphical Report, 80 of 1936-37; E.I., XXIV, p. 90.

recording gifts of gardens, gold, ornaments for the deity, *etc.*, are dated in 1262, 1266, 1268 and 1269.

Both Sōmēśvara (1235–54) and Rāmanātha (1254–79) indulged in the sacred work of building and endowing temples in this region, a prestigious pastime of medieval rulers. The best known of these is the Hoysaḷēśvara temple at Kaṇṇanur built by Sōmēśvara for the merit of his mother Kāḷaladēvi.[1] This suffered desereation at the hands of the Muslims during their invasion and occupation of many parts of South India (1323–78) but was resorted to worship by the Vijayanagar chieftains. The great Vaishṇava temple of Srirangam itself had suffered in this manner and was restored in 1371. An inscription of Kampana II says that the Poysaḷēśvara temple was demolished upto the *ādhārasila* (pediment) and converted into a mosque by the Muslims and that after Kampana's conquest it was reopened for worship.[2] Today, however, the Hoysaḷēśvara temple, is a neglected shrine, lying only a few furlongs away from the popular Māriamman (Durga) temple at Samayapuram.

From his inscriptions in the Tiruvānaikka (Jambukēśwaram) temple, only a mile from Srirangam, recording his building activities, gifts and endowments, it may be inferred that Sōmēśvara was an ardent Saiva.[3] In the northern suburb of Tiruvānaikka he set up images of gods with suitable shrines in the names of his grandfather Ballala II (Vaḷḷāḷēśvara), his grandmother, Padmala (Padmaḷēśvara), his father Narasiṁha II (Vīra Narasiṁhēśvara) and his queen Somala (Somaḷīśvara).[4] These shrines cannot be definitely identified now, the Tiruvānaikka temple itself having undergone successive renovations in the recent past. The main seven-storeyed eastern *gopura* of this temple, which was begun earlier by a Pandya king, as attested by the emblems of two carps flanking an elephant-goad found carved on the two ceiling beams, was completed by

1. MER, 18 of 1891; 122 of 1936–37; Pt. II, Para 48.
2. 162 of 1936–37; Pt. II, Para 51.
3. 118–124 of 1936–37.
4. 18 of 1891; 119 of 1936–37; Pt. II, Para 48.

Sōmēśvara. Most probably he constructed the upper storeys as an inscription refers to this *gopura* as the seven-storied *gopura* of Vīra Sōmēśvara.[1] He also instituted in the main temple a festival in his name, Vīra Sōmēśvaran *tirunāl*.[2] These, however, do not justify the assumption of the late Epigraphist of the Madras Government, Mr. C. R. Krishnamacharlu, that Sōmēśvara was a bigoted Saiva, who was hostile to Srirangam. He says, " Sōmēśvara's records are not found at Srirangam, the famous Vaishnava centre; and this justifies the remark made in the opening verse of the Srirangam inscription of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I that Sōmēśvara had reduced to a pitiable state the lotus pond of Srirangam."[3] Actually this is not the case. There are several inscriptions in the Srirangam temple in which the queens and generals of Sōmēśvara appear as donors of land, gardens, gold, *etc.*[4] So far as the statement in the inscription of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya is concerned it is clearly a poetical convention. It is implied that the lotus flowers in the lotus pond of Srirangam " suffered " (or had their petals closed) under the moon of Karnata (Sōmēśvara) and blossomed again under the rise of the sun among kings (the Pandya).

The Kaliyugaraman *gopura,* in the east Chitra street, Srirangam, shows the Hoysaḷa symbol of *gandabherunda* on each of its four jambs beneath the label, *Kaḷiyugaraman* in *grantha* characters of the thirteenth century, and the Pandya symbol of a pair of carps on the beams of the ceiling. The *gopura* resembles that of Jambukēśvaram built by Sōmēśvara though it looks somewhat stunted. 'Kaliyugaraman' was a title of Jatavarman Vira Pandya (acc: 1297). It may reasonably be stated this *gopura* was first built or its construction started by a Hoysaḷa king, and that it was repaired or completed by the Pandya. It is interesting to note that these two *gopuras*, one

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1. 19 of 1891; MER., 1936-37; Pt. II, Para 48.
2. 121 to 1936-37.
4. MER, 1936-37; Pt. II, Para 48.
3. 54 and 68 of 1892; 156 and 158 of 1951-52; 102, 134 and 147 of 1938-39.

in the Saiva temple at Jambukēśwaram and the other in the Vaishnava temple at Srirangam, owed their existence to Hoysala-Pandya collaboration.

If Sōmēśwara showed a special preference to the temple at Tiruvānaikka Ramanatha appears to have favoured the temple of Ranganatha at Srirangam. Besides the *Ārōgyaśāla* or the Dhanvantri shrine, mentioned above, the following structures seem to have owed their existence during his rule.

A *Saraswathi-bhandara* or library was set up by a private person, Pālapaḷḷi Nilakanta Nayakkar in a *mantapa* erected for the purpose. Nearby he installed the images of Sarasvati, Vedavyasa and Hayagriva, the three presiding deities of learning.[1] The library was probably housed in one of the *mantapas*, now occupied by the *Madappalli* (Kitchen), where the inscription was found. The *Koiloḷugu*, the chronicle of the Srirangam temple, enumerates the benefactions of a certain Kampaya Dandanayaka, a *pradhani* (minister) of Ramanathadeva, and of his brother Kariyamānikka Dandanayaka.[2] An inscription refers to the former as a maternal uncle of Singhana Dandanayaka, the builder of the *Ārōgyaśāla*.[3] Many important structures in the fourth and fifth (outer) enclosures are attributed to him. One of these is the thousand-pillard *mantapa*. This was built, according to the *Olugu* by Perumaldevan under the authority of Kampaya Dandanayaka. Ten pillars in the western porch of this *mantapa* contain the name mandalika Marajan Kampaya Dandanayakkan engraved in characters of the thirteenth century. The other structures attributed by the *Oḷugu* to the two brothers are the shrines of Paravāsudeva, Sudarsana (Chakrattāḷvār) and Lakshminarayana. It is well known that almost all the shrines and structures, particularly those of the outer *prakaras* suffered during the Muslim occupation and were repaired or reconstructed in the Vijayanagar period.

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1. 139 of 1938, Part II, Para 70; 4 of 1937–38.
2. V. N. Hari Rao, *Koil Olugu* (Rochouse, Madras, 1961), p. 20.
3. SII, VIII, 88.

SECTION—II

The actual remains of the Hoysaḷa monuments may now be briefly considered. The Bangalore Museum copper plate grant, issued on 1 March 1253, refers to a gift made on the occasion of a solar eclipse "while the king was residing in the great capital named Vikramapura, which had been built in order to amuse his mind in the Cōḷa country, which he had conquered by the might of his arm."[1] The town was perhaps built between 1234, the year of his accession and 1236, when he set up the image of Poysaḷēśvara in Kannanur, according to his Jambukēśwaram inscription. Besides the Hoysaḷēśwara temple a fort was also probably erected as Sōmēśvara must have known that his position in the Tamil country was not quite secure. Faint traces of a moat, fort and rampart walls are the only remains that survive to day of the quondam capital. The stones of the fort as well as the *prakara* walls and *mantapas* of the Hoysaḷēśvara temple were utilised by the Nawabs of the Carnatic for the construction of parts of the fort at Tiruccirappalli and still later the bridges over the Coleroon and the Kāvērī on either side of Srirangam. A few stones containing Hoysaḷa *birudas*, obviously detached from the Hoysaḷa temple, are found built into the walls of the temple at Samayapuram.

The shrine of Hoysaḷēśvara is a typical Cōḷa shrine of the imperial period with a lofty *vimana* or tower over the *garbhagriha* and not characterised by any features which generally distinguish Hoysaḷa architecture. This applies to the other Hoysaḷa monuments in the Tamil country as well. The kings having established a provincial headquarters in an alien and, for all practical purposes, a hostile country had to associate themselves with the local styles of architecture and encourage local artisans and follow the local styles rather than import the artisans and style of Karnataka. This appears to be a better explanation of the absence of Hoysaḷa features than the plea of disappearance of original style due to renovation. If

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1. MER, 1892, Para 7; Epigraphia Carnatica, IX, Intrn., p. 21.

the Hoysaḷa rule in the Tamil country had been longer and more deep-rooted, probably things might have been different.

The Hoysaḷēśvara shrine, now called Bhojēśwara, is a living shrine. Quite modest in proportions it has *garbhagriha*, *antarala*, *mantapa* and a porch. In the *garbhagriha* is the Sivalinga. The *mantapa* has twelve pillars, each consisting of three square blocks with intervening octagonal sections and carrying the Cōḷa type of corbels above, *i.e.*, the bracket bevelled so as to leave a tenonlike projection. These pillars have an upper corbel of the Vijayanagar type, showing the double lotus stalk and bud motif. Each pillar has a pilaster, projecting on one side and decorated with scrolls. The porch has two rows of two pillars each of the same type. The two end pillars of the outer row have two pilasters and a slender subsidiary pillar projecting. These features provide a stylistic confirmation of the fact that the Hoysaḷa temple built in the Cōḷa period, in Cōḷa style, was renovated in the Vijayanagar period.

The *adhishtana* is lofty and rises in two stages, each showing several mouldings, which include friezes showing lotus petals, busts of lions with heads turned back and a semi-circular band alternately ribbed and plain.

The *Kudya* or wall portion is relieved by a series of pilasters and niches. The pilasters show the capital components like *kumbha, padma* and *palaka* and the Vijayanagar type of corbels. Each wall of the *garbhagriha* shows five niches between pilasters, appearing alternately in projections recesses, the central niche being somewhat deep and containing a standing deity figure, the rest being shallow and plain. At the two ends are two plain projecting blocks between pilasters. Above the central niche is a semi-circular *makara-torana* crowned by *simhalalata,* while the two adjoining niches carry *sala* tops, *i.e.*, barrel-vaulted roofs raised over pediments and *grivas* and decorated with gables and having *kalasas* above. The two end niches have simple scroll gables on top. The central niche on the southern side contains a seated figure of Siva as Dakshinamurti, while the niche in the backwall, *i.e.*, the western wall,

contains a figure of Siva standing. The corresponding northern niche is plain.

The walls of the *antarala* and *mantapa* too show similar decorations but carry *kumbha-panjaras* in addition. Their niches are all plain and carry no deity images.

The cornice of the *garbhagriha* shows the quarter-circular projection relieved by gables and a frieze of pairs of *vyalas* growling at each other. Over the other walls the cornice is plain.

The *vimana* or pyramidal tower rises in four stages, the lower two consisting of a series of shrine miniatures, *viz.*, *kutas* in the corners and *salas* and *panjaras* in between. The third stage is a platform with an offset in the middle of each side and having three diminishing tiers at the top. In the four corners are four *Nandis*. Above this platform is the circular *griva* over which rests the huge domical *sikhara* having a pointed *kalasa* finial. In the eight directions of the *griva* as well as the *sikhara* are gables, of which contain deity figures in stucco, *e.g.*, Siva and Brahma.

In the northern side of the *mantapa* is a shrine for the goddess Anandavalli. It is a square cell whose walls are plain. The *vimana* has a domical *sikhara* with *kalasa*, resting on a high circular *griva* whose exterior is relieved by plain niches and pilasters. On the eight sides of the sikhara are wide gables, surmounted by *simhalalatas*.

The gateway *gopura*, through which one enters the temple, has only the stone base. The brick superstructure has disappeared. The stone base shows a moulded *adhishtana*, pilasters decorating the *kudya* and a moulded *cornice*.

Among the numerous gateway towers of the Srirangam temple the eight storeyed East Cittirai *gopuram*, *i.e.*, the tower leading into the East Cittirai street, is the most impressive, next only to the lofty *Vellai gopuram*, or the tower leading into the eastern wing of the fourth *prakara*. This tower has, on each of the four jambs of its central passage, a standing composite image of *gandabherunda*, having a human body surmounted by two eagle heads facing opposite directions, a well known

Hoysaḷa emblem. Over this, in each case, is found the label *Kaliyugarāman,* incised in the *grantha* characters of the 13th century. Two of the ceiling beams carry in relief a pair of fish with an *ankusa* in the middle, the symbol of the Pandyas. *Kaliyugarāman* was the title of Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pandya, who ascended the throne in 1297. It is obvious from these that the *gopura* was first constructed by the Hoysaḷa, most probably Ramanatha, and then either completed or reconstructed by the Pandya. The *gopura* suffers from an architectural defect. Its stone base is of substantial size with a lofty *adhishtana* in two stages and *kudya* relieved with pilasters and plain niches but the brick superstructure, *i.e.,* the pyramidal portion, is not proportionately high. The first two *talas* are quite proportionate, showing high and wide double pillared *dwaras* flanked by *dwarapalakas*, but the five *talas* above these two maintain a lower angle of elevation and are definitely smaller in size, giving to the *gopura* a stunted appearance and a slightly curving (convex) outline. It may be that this part of the superstructure was added later by the Pandya.

The walls of the *gopura* are decorated with pilasters, *Kumbhapanjaras* and plain niches while the *talas* of the tapering superstructure are uniformly relieved with the usual pavilion ornaments, *viz., kutas* in the corners and *panjaras* and *salas* in between, the central *sala* being wider than the others and having a *dvara* in the middle, flanked by *dvarapalas*. The pilasters have corbels showing the lotus-stalk motif and the bud or *bodigai,* slightly rounded and not deep as in the Vijayanagar period. It may be recalled that this type of corbel had started making its appearance late in the Cōḷa period as is evident from the corbels of pillars of the *mantapas* of the temple at Dārāsuram (Tanjore Dt.) assigned to the period of Rajaraja II (1146–73).[1] It may may also be noted that in this period began the great activity of building lofty gateway towers for the famous South Indian temples, in which the Cōḷa and Pāndya rulers and their feudatories took an active part.

1. C. Sivaramamoorthy : *Cola Temples* (Dept. of Archaeology, New Delhi, 1960), p. 27 and Plate XII.

The seven storied main eastern *gopura* of the Jambukēśvaram temple, now called the Sundara Pandyan *gopuram*, is a product of the joint effort of Sōmēśvara and a Pandya king before him, most probably Maravarman Sundara Pandya I (1216–38) as suggested by a few writers. This *gopura* has been recently renovated and the stucco figures of the superstructure are painted in bright colours. The solid stone base contains, as is customary in *gopura* bases of Siva temples, half life-size figures of Siva in various forms, *e.g.*, Gajasurasamharamurti, Somaskanda, Ardhanari, Tripurantaka holding *bana* and *dhanus* with Uma by his side and his left foot placed on the head of a seated *asura*, Bhikshatana, Lingodhbava, Vrishavahana, Kalyanasundara, *etc.* The brick and stucco work above carry mythological and other scenes of sorts. These appear against the background of the usual type of pavilion ornaments, *i.e.*, *kutas*, *salas* and *panjaras*. Referring to sculptures of the entire *gopuram* Dr. T. N. Ramachandran says: "The cosmic significance of this *gopuram* with every nook and corner richly decorated seems to be that the visitor should be instructed ocularly in the doctrine of Hindu mythology, iconography, fine arts, the Muses, in short of everyday life . . . The sculptures bespeak a luxurious experience and open out an encyclopaedia of edifying legends told with moving eloquence and in the plastic language of a singularly chaste and refined diction, elaborated with rich and exquisite imagery. Incidentally these speaking pictures afford glimpses into the details of the life of the times (13th century A.D.). Humble huts, pompous temples and mansions, musical and dance scenes, including those of Siva and his *ganas*, assemblies of both spiritual and worldly minded human beings, *vahanas*, forest scenes, window screens of variety and intricacy, flora and fauna; every thing is here pictured eloquently and profusely, yet with refined restraint. In contrast to the moving compositions of life (terrestrial, aerial and celestial) in its variety are the static images of a series of Suryas, Dikpalakas, Navagrahas, Kshetrapalas, Brahma, Vishnu, Siva, Harihara and Traipurushadeva, and the dynamic images of a series of Ganapati dancing, of Siva in a variety of dances

including Gajasankara, Kalasamhara, Urdhvatandava, Kalika-tandava, Gauri-tandava and Ananda-tandava and of Mahisha-suramardhini in *tryalidha* flexion . . . Among Devis occur Saras-vati, Lakshmi, Parvati, Durga, Akilandanayaki . . . Musical scenes occupying the lower pediment in which dwarfish *ganas* take part with a variety of musical instruments and dances take us away to a world of retreat and relaxation . . ."[1]

Among a few other structures of the Hoysaḷa period within the Tiruvanaikka temple, which can now be identified, is a temple for Pasupatiswamin, erected in the reign of Vira Rama-natha.[2] A portrait sculpture in this shrine with hands held in *anjali-mudra* probably represents Ramanatha. Another is a shrine called Prasannēśvara lying to the west of Ramatirtha, a tank outside the temple.[3] Yet another shrine in the fifth *prakara,* to the noth, is said to be the memorial shrine of Sōma-lēśvara erected by Sōmēśvara. A small shrine in the north side of the third *prakara* may be identified with the shrine named Tyagavinodisvaram built by Tyagapperumal of Kalvakkur in the 22nd year of Sōmēśvara (1257).[4]

It was stated above that Singanadaṇḍanāyakka, a *pradhani* of Vīra Rāmanāthadēva, set up in the third year of the king (1257) a *śālai (arōgyaśāla)* in the Srirangam temple to the west of the Mēṭṭaḷagiyasingar shrine in the third *prakara* of the Srirangam temple.[5] Originally this must have been a hospital, enshrining an image of Dhanvantri, the divine doctor. An inscription dated 1493 states that the hospital, which had been destroyed by fire, was revived by Sriranga Garuḍavāhana Bhaṭṭa, who also installed in it a new image of Dhanvantri Emberuman.[6] Now the Dhanvantri shrine is an important subshrine of the Srirangam temple and has *garbhagriha, antarala,*

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1. The Tiruvanaikka Temple Kumbabhishekam Souvenir, 1970, pp. 238–39.
2. *Ibid.*
3. MER, 1936–37, Pt. II, Para 48.
4. *Ibid.:* see also the article cited in the Souvenir (Note 16).
5. 80 of 1936–37.
6. 81 of 1936–37.

pradakshina, *mukhamantapa*, *mahamantapa* and an outer porch. The walls are decorated with niches and pilasters, the latter carrying corbels of the Vijayanagar type. The pillars and their corbels in the *mantapas* and the porch are all in the Vijayanagar style. From this it appears that the shrine was destroyed more or less completely and that it was renovated in the Vijayanagar period.

It was also mentioned above that, according to the *Kōil-Olugu*, several stractures in the fourth and fifth prakaras of the Śrirangam temple were erected by Kampaya Dandanayaka, another *pradhani* of Ramanatha. This is confirmed by palaeographic evidence provided by inscriptions on ten pillars in the western porch of the thousand pillared *mantapam* giving the name of this donor with his title.[1] A more important reference in the *Olugu* and the only evidence which credits Hoysaḷa Narasimha II with building activity in Srirangam is the statement in the chronicle that he built the *mantapa* and walls of the Mēṭṭaḷagiyasingar (Narasimha) shrine overlooking the northern wing of the fourth prakara.[2] The late government epigraphist, Sri C. R. Krishnamacharlu, cited earlier, was of the opinion that the Vēṇugōpāla shrine, the most ornate structure lying inside the Srirangam temple complex, has figurines and features, reminiscent of the Hoysaḷa style and hence was probably built during the period of Hoysaḷa occupation of Kaṇṇanur and Srirangam. The shrine has no inscriptions.[3] A careful study of its architecture, particularly the niche, pilaster, *Kumbapanjara* and corbel styles, shows that it was built in the late Vijayanagar or the Madura Nayak period.[4] It has no Hoysala characteristics as alleged.

It is said that Vīrēsvaram, a suburb of Srirangam and Somarasampēṭṭai, adjoining Vayalur, very near Tiruccirappalli, are called after the Hoysaḷa king, Sōmēśvara, and that the

1. 114 of 1937–38.
2. *Koil Olugu (Op. cit.)*, p. 21.
3. MER., 1936–37, Pt. II, Para 47.
4. V. N. Hari Rao : *The Srirangam Temple : Art and Architecture* (S. V. University, Tirupati, 1967), pp. 29–31, 58,

names are corruptions of Vīra-Somesvaram and Somesvaranpet. This, however, lacks confirmation.

SECTION III

As a result of Ulugh Khan's expedition of 1323 the Kāvērī region in the Tamil country (Srirangam, Kaṇṇanur, etc.) passed under the control of the Muslims from that of the Pāndya chieftains, who had displaced the Hoysaḷas. Ballāḷa III (1292–1343), the ambitious Hoysaḷa monarch, indulged in, what D. M. Derrett would like to call, an "aberration" and taking advantage of the troubles of the Pāndyas caused by the Muslim invasions of 1311 and 1323 quietly seized some territory around Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, Kaṇṇanur itself having been garrisoned by the Muslims. Aruṇasamudra figures in his inscriptions and this was perhaps the same as Tiruvaṇṇāmalai or a town nearby.[1] Just as Sōmēśvara had developed a liking for Kaṇṇānur, Ballaḷa III appears to have been attracted by Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, a great centre of Saiva pilgrimage, which became from 1322 his "sub-capital". He appears to have stayed there for some years waiting for an opportunity to recover Kaṇṇānur. The coronation of his son Ballaḷa IV took place there.[2] The *Aruṇācalapurāṇam* the *stalamahatmya* of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, by Ellappa Nāvalar, a late work, contains a chapter called *Vallaḷa Mahārājan carukkam*, on the association of a certain Vallāḷamahārāja with Tiruvaṇṇā-malai and his benefactions to the temple. He may easily be identified with Ballaḷa III though the tale of his being sonless and getting a son mentioned therein cannot stand the test of historical criticism.[3] The king is believed to have built the third *prakara* wall and its four *gopuras*. An annual festival called *Vallāḷa rayan tirunāḷ* is conducted in commemoration of his services in the month of *Tai* (January-February). Derrett thinks that this might have been instituted in 1341.[4]

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1. D. M. Derrett, *The Hoysaḷas*, p. 160.
2. *Ibid.*: p. 171.
3. *Ibid.*: pp. 170–171.
4. *Ibid.*: p. 171.

The *gopuras* called after Vallāḷa Maharaja are very much restored in recent times and resemble in their pilaster and niche designs as well as their details of sculptures, deity and otherwise, those of the Sundara Pandyan *gopura* of the Tiruvā-naikka temple referred to above. Their *talas* carry a series of deity figures adorning the fronts of the pavilion ornaments.

SOME TEMPLES OF THE EARLY CHĀLUKYAN STYLE IN NORTH DHARWAR DISTRICT AND THE HOYSAḶA ARCHITECTURE

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WHILE ESTIMATING THE extent and realm of the influences of the architectural traditions of the Chālukyas and the Ganga-Chōḷas in the make of the Hoysaḷa architecture, it is generally said that the stellate plan of the circle type, the open mukha-mandapa and the sabhamandapa, some forms of the pillars etc., so common with the Hoysaḷas, owe much to the former. The temples of Someshvara of Gadag and of Dodda-Basavanna of Dambal of the Kalyāna Chālukyan period, are usually quoted as instances influencing the Hoysaḷa architecture. But a close scrutiny of an inscription from Dambal referring to the construction of probably the Doddabasavanna temple, points out that it was most probably completed later than the Belur or the Talakad temples of 1116-17 A.D. And we have no other examples of the Kalyāna Chālukyan temples having stellate plan of the circle type of earlier date in this region. Also the Someshvara temple does not seem to be earlier than that of Dambal. If so, whence did the Hoysaḷas get the inspiration and example for adapting the stellate plan of the circle type in question ? Or is it their own innovation ? Secondly it is construed that raising a temple on a platform is typically Hoysaḷa. In view of these problems and observations, some of the temples of the 9th-10th c.A.D. of the early Chālukya style from the adjoining region of Gadag-Lakkundi seem to suggest the extent of the influence of the early Chālukyan tradition on the Hoysaḷa architecture, including the provision of a platform :

The region of Ron and Nargund Talukas, Dharwar District is studded with many temples of 9th–10th c.A.D. of the early Chaḷukyan style built in red sand-stone in many localities.

Of these temples the Parameshavara gudi in Konnur, the Brahmadevara temple in Savadi and the Mallikarjuna, the Jod-Kalashadagudi in Sudi are particularly noteworthy in so far as their probable bearing on certain principal architectural features of the Hoysaḷa temples such as the platform providing pradakshinapatha, the stellate plan of the circle type etc., are concerned. Fortunately dated inscriptions referring to the constructions or existences of these temples are available from the respective places.

The Parameshvara temple, at Konnur (Nargund Tk.) on the right bank of the Malaprabha river, is originally a Jina sanctuary as suggested by the Jina bimba of the lalata-bimba of the lintels of the doorframes and from the inscription of the temple.

The inscription dated Saka 782 (960 A.D.) states that Bankeya or Bankesha of Kolanur, a subordinate of the king Amoghavarsha I founded the Jaina sanctuary. Thus the temple is definitely ascribable to the middle of the 9th c.A.D.

The temple 27×11 m. in area, has now the basement of the mukhamandapa with flight of steps in front, a sabha-mandapa, an antarala and a garbhagriha on the same principal axis and faces east. From the present state of its preservation, whether the temple had originally a shikhara is not clear. In the sabhamandapa are twelve pilasters, four canton pilasters and sixteen central pillars, a noteworthy feature suggesting an early Chalukyan tradition. In the side walls of the garbha-grihas are three niches of 90 cm. width and upto the ceiling, a feature also noteworthy. There is a Shivalinga on a pitha now in worship in the centre of the garbhagriha. The most noteworthy feature is that the garbhagriha is of stellate plan of the circle type with nine apices, together on three sides: Perhaps the earliest known example of the type.

The Brahmadevaru temple (25×19 m. in area) at Savadi, is probably the same as the one referred to as Mulasthanadeva of

a Kannada inscription dated in 7th regnal year of Vikramaditya VI i.e., 1083 A.D. of the locality, registering a grant of land for the benefit of the temple. It has now 2/3 of a spacious, heavily pillared sabhamandapa, an antarala and a garbhagriha. In the sabhamandapa are 64 pillars extant. The antarala too, has four pilasters, two canton pilasters and four central pillars. The kapota overhanging the lintel has hamsavari. The garbhagriha has six pilasters and six canton pilasters and shallow vaulted roof of octagonal design. In the hind wall is a rectangular niche. In the central floor, is a finely moulded pitha having excellent sculptures of Brahma and Vishnu with a Shivalinga in the centre thereon and their respective vahanas on the frontal side. As with the Parameshvara temple of Konnur, the garbhagriha is of stellate plan of nine apices. On the exterior walls, it is noteworthy, are decorative motifs of a single pilaster crowned with a Kadamba Nagara Shikhara enclosed in an arabasque prabhavali with simhamukha at the top and of double pilasters carrying a shikhara of the southern vimana type, alternatively in the lower zone and miniature fine bas-reliefs of Nataraja, Trivikrama, Nritya Ganesha, Nrisimha killing Hiranyakashipu, Rati and Manmatha, dancing couple, a Rishi with two desciples etc., in the upper zone suggesting almost exactly the scheme and pattern, some 100 or 120 years later for the Hoysaḷas to follow up but in reverse order and in an excessively rich and ornate style.

On stylistical grounds and inscriptional evidences, the temple may be assigned to the 9th–10th c. A.D. but not later.

The Jod-Kalashada gudi and the Mallikarjuna temple, at Sudi have each two inscriptions within the sabhamandapa of the former and on pillar in front of the latter. One of them in the first dated Saka 932 (1010 A.D.) states the leasing out of certain estates to the Mahajanas of the Brahmapuri of the locality and another dated Saka 981 (1061 A.D.) records the grant of the village Sivanur to Sōmēśvara Panditadeva. The temple therefore was already in existence before 1061 A.D. and probably before 1010 A.D. if the inscriptions are in the original places eversince their set-up. The inscriptions on a pillar in

front of the Mallikarjuna temple, refer to a gift of land and its confirmation, dated respectively Saka 976 and 980 (1054, 1058 A.D.) during the regin of Sōmēśvara I, when Akkadevi was ruling Kisukadu-70 etc., to the God Akkesvara probably the present Mallikarjuna temple. Stylistically they are nearer to the dated temples of 9th–10th c. A.D. nearby, at Naregal etc.

The Jod-Kalashada gudi is divikutachala oriented in E–W direction with garbhagrihas succeeded by an antarala each, facing each other and a common sabhamandapa in between, approached by a mukamandapa on each side. Each garbhagriha is provided with three devakoshtas in the side walls, a feature of note. Secondly, the side walls on the exterior, of the garbhagrihas on the eastern cordinal point is resolved into triangular projections of acute angles resulting in a partial stellate plan, of circular type with three apices. The plan of the other garbhagrihas look like rectangles interlacing at right angles, resulting in a stellate plan of the interlacing rectangles.

The Mallikarjuna temple (28×16 m.) is raised on a platform of 43 m.l. × 20 m.b. × 2½ h. providing a pradakshinapatha all round the temple, which again a feature worthy of note. It has a garbhagriha, an antarala, a spacious sabhamandapa with two garbhagrihas on the sides, and a fallen mukamandapa approached by a flight of steps through a torana, facing east. In the N. E. corner of the platform is a subsidiary shrine for a parivaradevata. Over the central garbhagriha rises the shikhara of the southern vimana type.

Thus from the above architectural analysis of some of the temples show that while continuing early Chālukyan traditions reflected in the mouldings of the plinth, provision of the more number of pillars, the arrangements of the bays of the ceilings; in the continuation of the kapota with hamsavari, the types of shalas and kutas of each tala of the shikhara, and of the imposing nature and study character, certain new features were introduced during this period such as the erection of a platform, the stellate plan of the circular type, the division of the walls into two zones lower and the upper for display of artistic motifs and the provision of the devakoshtas in the interior

side walls the garbhagrihas. Later, in the process of the cultural amalgamation of the Chālukyas and the Hoysaḷas, the new features of the early Chālukyan architectural tradition that would meet satisfactorily the requirements of the two dynamic religious movements: the Srivaishnavism and Saivism, and of the tremendous zeal of the Hoysaḷa Kings to vie with the other contemporary imperial dynasties in the cultural rennaissance were taken over by the Hoysaḷa architect and were exuberantly perfected. Incidentally speaking the Chālukyas of Kalyāna who directly inherited the early Chālukyan traditions also produced finest monuments as at Dambal, Gadag, Lakkundi etc. Thus both the contemporary dynasties, the Chālukyas of Kalyāna and the Hoysaḷas had a common source of inspiration and influence in the early Chālukyan traditions to develop in their own respective ways their temple architectural styles in tune with the existing conditions, of the regions.

HOYSAḶA AND HEMĀḌPANTI TEMPLES
(A Study in Comparison)

—*Dr. K. N. Chitnis*
Poona

ALL THE OLD-LOOKING stone temples in Maharashtra are generally called, though wrongly, Hemāḍpanti temples. Hemāḍpant or Hemādri served under the Yādavas of Devagiri, first as an officer in charge of the imperial records of Mahādeva (1261–1271), and then as a minister of Rāmachandra (1271–1311). Hemādri encouraged greatly the construction of temples in the style that was prevalent in his times. Hence these temples have been associated with his name. It may, however, be remembered that quite a number of temples had been built even before the times of Hemāḍpant, although they are also designated as Hemāḍpanti temples. All that is meant by the term 'Hemāḍpanti' is that the temple is an old masonry structure built without using cement or mortar, irrespective of whether it was built during the times of Hemāḍpant or not.

The Chālukyas of Kalyāna were the immediate predecessors of the Yādavas of Devagiri in Maharashtra, as they were of the Hoysaḷas in Karnāṭaka, and it is no wonder if Yādavas, like the Hoysaḷas, continued, at least in some respects, the Chālukyan architectural style. In Karnataka the Chālukyan style reached its glorious heights in Hoysaḷa architecture, whereas in Maharashtra it lingered on in the so-called Hemāḍpanti temples.

There is difference of opinion among the scholars as to the nomenclature of the style of architecture that developed in Karnataka. James Fergusson prefers to call it the Chālukyan style in as much as it originated in their times, whereas R. Narasimhacharya calls it the Hoysaḷa style as a large number of temples of this style sprung up during their period owing to their patronage to art and architecture. Vincent

Smith opines that instead of giving the dynastic names to this style of architecture it may be called the *Dākshinātya* or Mysore style as the most brilliant examples of the temples of this style were all built in the south, especially in the Mysore territorry.[1] For purposes of this paper, however, the terms 'Chālukyan' and 'Hoysaḷa' are used, the first for the style of the earlier period, the second for that of the later period.

Henry Cousens[2] says that the remains of the buildings of the Chālukyan style in the north mix, imperceptibly, with the remains of the so-called 'Hemāḍpanti' temples, while B. Venkobarao[3] opines that in some parts of North Karnataka the temples resembling, in their architectural features, the so-called Jakkanāchāri temples are labelled as Hemāḍpanti temples. He further adds that such temples have severely plain exteriors, but their interiors are replete, like the other Hoysaḷa temples, with image and sculptures.[4] Thus he seems to suggest that the Hemāḍpanti temples could be classed with the Hoysaḷa temples, although some of the Hoysaḷa features are absent in them. It may be noted in this connection that quite a good number of Hemāḍpanti temples have the typical Hoysaḷa look in its crude form, although they differ in some particulars from the temples built in the latter style.

The mediaeval temples in Maharashtra, coming as they did under the impact of the North Indian as well as Chālukyan styles of architecture, naturally developed a mixed style partaking of the characteristics of both. Fergusson says that these temples belong to the Indo-Aryan group in as much as their *śikharas* are a direct outgrowth of the Indo-Aryan *śikhara*.[5] The *śikhara*, no doubt follows the pattern of the North-Indian, especially Gujarat, temples. There are,

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1. Venkobrao : *maisūru deśada vāstuśilpa*, pp. 28-29.
2. Cousens, H. : *Chālukyan Architecture*, p. 17.
3. Venkobrao B. : *op. cit.*, p. 47.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Fergusson : *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol. II, pp. 143 ff.

however, a number of features which remind one of the Hoysaḷa temples.

Although there was no direct contact between the Hemāḍpanti and Hoysaḷa styles of architectures, it can be presumed that the same Chālukyan style, from which the Hoysaḷa style emerged in Karnataka, contributed, in some measure, to the development of the Hemāḍpanti style in Maharashtra.

The typical Hemāḍpanti temple usually consists of a sanctum, a vestibule connecting it with a *maṇḍapa*, and sometimes an additional *mukhamaṇḍapa* with a detached Nandi pavilion, all aligned axially. In some cases the entrances to the *maṇḍapa* are through porches covered with ornamental details.

In the decorated ceilings of the *navaraṅga maṇḍapa*, in the star-shaped or stellate plan of the temple, in the porched entrances to the *navaraṅga*, in the dwarf walls round the *maṇḍapas* or *mukha-maṇḍapas*, in the *kākṣasanas* or reclining benches running inside the dwarf walls, in the double-edged cornices or the projected eaves in the transition, and in the treatment of the exterior of the temple generally do we find striking similarities between the Hemāḍpanti and Hoysaḷa temples.

The temple of Āesvara at Sinnar bears eloquent testimony to the profound impression made by the Chālukyan style of architecture on the so-called Hemāḍpanti temples of Maharashtra. It shows that the Chālukyan style in Maharashtra, as also in Karnataka before the appearance of the Hoysaḷa style, was being adopted for the construction of the temples, which at the same time was gradually being modified by coming in contact with other styles, mainly those of North Gujarat and Malwa. We have in this temple quite a good number of characteristics of the Chālukyan style such as the raised plinth around the shrine, only traces of which are now seen, the *makara-tōraṇa*, the *saptamatṛkas*, the *aṣṭadikpālās* ceiling and the *Gaja-Lakṣmī* on the lintel. At the same time we find the northern style making its appearance leading to the adoption of the *kīchaka* bracket above the capitals of the pillars.

Presumably built in the eleventh century, the temple of Āesvara consists, in its ruined condition, of a sanctum and two groups of four pillars standing in front, with their beams above. They are of three types, four being octagonal, two hexagonal and two square in plan. Here also we find the hexagonal and octagonal types of pillars appearing with square types, which together led, later on, to the typical Hemāḍpanti pillars where all these three types are often inter-mingled with an added element of the round type.

The *makaratōraṇa* above the entrance to the antechamber is simply remarkable. 'A most superb piece of carving,' says Henry Cousens, 'over-arches the entrance to the antechamber. Forming a semicircular arch are three bands, the centre one of little dancing dwarfs. These rise from the jaws of two *makaras*, one on either side, with the most wonderful tails of flowing arabesque, which turn up over their backs and forward on to the arched bands. The central semicircular panel, under the arch, is occupied by a representation of Siva dancing the *tāṇḍava*.[1]

The Ambarnatha temple in the Thana District built in 1060 A.D. is one of the finest temples in Maharashtra, combining in itself the features of both the Gujarath and Hoysaḷa styles. It consists of a sanctum and a *maṇḍapa* with three porched entrances.

The *śikhara* is built in the Indo-Aryan style. Around the main *śikhara* are clustered the miniature *śikharas* of the same type, without disturbing the upward sweep created by the four vertical bands carried up the top from the four corners of the sanctum.

The exterior of the temple is effectively broken up by the offsets and recesses forming innumerable angles, and covered with an exuberance of plastic art creating a wonderful sparkling effect of light and shade, for which a parallel could be found in the Hoysaḷa temples. But the impressive Hoysaḷa plinth with various friezes of elephants, horses, scrolls etc. is conspicuous by its absence.

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1. Cousens, *Mediaeval Temples of the Dakhan* (MTD), p. 40.

The Hoysaḷa features could be further discerned in the three porched entrances to the *maṇḍapa*, in the richly wrought doorways, in the basement mouldings on the exterior although the *chajali*, the *aśvathara* and the *narathara* are missing, and above all in the wonderfully carved central bay. According to Venkobrao,[1] the richly wrought central bays, the wonderful *bhuvaneśvaris* form one of the distinguishing features of the Hoysaḷa temples.

The domical bay in the ceiling of the hall of this temple rises in fine concentric circles at the apex of which hangs a beautiful pendant. The outside circle contains a running scroll, the inner four being scooped out into cusped hollows, the *kīrtimukha* motifs occupying the four corners formed by the angles of the four pillars over which the whole bay rests. Nor is it a solitary example, for similar decorated central bays are found in many other temples such as the Śaiva Temple (No. 1) at Balsāne in Khandesh,[2] the Gondeśvara temple at Sinnar in the Nasik District, the temple of Mahādeva at Jhodga and the temple of Bhavāni at Tāhākari.

The triple or multiple-shrined composition, another distinguishing feature of the Hoysaḷa architecture, is to be found in the above mentioned Śaiva temple at Balsāne. This reminds us of the famous Keśava temple at Somnāthpur. As at Somnāthpur, here also the three shrines are grouped round a central *maṇḍapa*. If the Śaiva temple at Balsāne is triple-shrined with one doorway, the Ambarnatha temple in the Thana District and the Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa temple at Pēḍgaon are single-shrined compositions with three doorways like the Chennakeśava temple at Belur.

A few temples in Maharashtra are built on a plan which is stellate or star-shaped. Such, for instance, are the temple of Mahesvara at Patna and one (No. 4) of the eight temples at Balsāne. It may be noted in this connection that although there were no points of direct contact between the Hoysaḷa and

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1. Venkobrao, *op. cit.*, p. 41.
2. Cousens, *MTD*, pp. 23–24.

Hemāḍpanti architectural syles, yet their common prototype, the Chālukyan mode, developed independently in both the regions retaining and developing some common features, the stellate plan being one of them. The only Chālukyan specimen of the star-shaped temple is that of Doḍḍa Basappa at Dambal, but this feature later on became a regular one in the Hoysaḷa style whereas in Maharashtra it made its appearance only in a few cases.

One often finds grille work or the perforated screen in the walls of the halls of these temples. The Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa temple at Pēḍgaon, which consists of a sanctum, an *antarāḷa* and a *maṇḍapa* with three porched entrances, has perforated screen walls enclosing its hall, and reminds us of the Trikuteśvara temple at Gadag, although it is very plain as compared with the latter. In the front wall of the Siddheśvara temple at Limpaṇgaon are seen perforated screens.

In some of the Hemāḍpanti temples the *mukha-maṇḍapas* or the pillared porches are enclosed by dwarf walls, the *kakṣāsanas* running inside them, sometimes a part of the *maṇḍapa* itself being enclosed by such reclining benches. The Saṅgameśvara temple at Pāṭodā in the Jamkhed Taluka of the Ahmednagar District has an open pillared hall placed in front of the sanctum, both being connected by means of a vestibule. Half of the pillared hall is marked off by means of dwarf pillars standing on the *kakṣāsanas* running inside, supporting the heavy cornices, or projected eaves above, the space between the cornice and the reclining benches being open. In the Siddheśvara temple at Limpaṇgaon such a device is utilised for the pillared porch in front of the hall.

Looking at the treatment of the surfaces of the exterior and of the doorways one is often tempted to find some similarities between the Hemāḍpanti and Hoysaḷa temples. As in Hoysaḷa temples, so in the Ambarnatha temple, in Śaiva temple (No. 1) at Balsāne and in Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa temple at Peḍgaon, to mention only some examples, the surfaces of walls are encrusted with an intricate mass of projections and recesses having miniature *śikharas* and arched niches in between,

containing images of gods and goddesses, the basement decorated with horizontal mouldings and friezes running round the temple. The sculptures on the doorways are bold in design and exquisite in workmanship.

There are, of course, some features in these temples that are borrowed from the North Gujarat style or the Malwa style. Such, for instance, are the pillars and the *śikharas*. But even here, especially in the case of pillars, an indirect Chālukyan influence is sometimes discernible. The *kaṇis* or the pointed mouldings of the Hemāḍpanti pillars, a feature which is very conspicuous in the Hoysaḷa pillars, are obtained by turning the pillars on some kind of lathe. According to Percy Brown,[1] this technical process was borrowed from the Chālukyan craftsmen.

Applying the term 'Hemāḍpanti' only to those temples that were built during the latter half of the thirteenth century and the early fourteenth century, scholars have remarked that they are "distinguished by their heavy proportions and bald and uninteresting architectural treatment, the scarcity of figure sculpture on their exteriors',[2] and 'by heaviness inclining to clumsiness'.[3] These remarks are perfectly true of the temples of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. But if by 'Hemāḍpanti' we mean, according to the widespread belief in Maharashtra, all those temples which are generally built in the mediaeval times, we find that some of the earliest temples such as those of Ambarnath in the Thana District, of Śiva (No. 1) at Balsāne and of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa at Pēḍgaon, which Cousens describes as 'a perfect little gem', are among the brilliant examples of temple architecture,[4] embodying the Malwa, North Gujarat and Hoysaḷa architectural features.

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1. Brown, P., *Indian Architecture* (Buddhist and Hindu Periods), p. 149.
2. *Ibid.*: p. 151.
3. Cousens, *MTD*, p. 4.
4. cf. Mate, S. M., *Maratha Architecture*, Poona, 1959, p. 75.

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THE AUTHORS - VIDYĀCAKRAVARTTINS

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I. Printed sources :

THE NAME CAKRAVARTTIN or the fuller Vidyācakravarttin is to be reckoned among the groups of famous authors who have made distinct and continuous contribution during successive generations to Sanskrit literature by reason of their close association with a succession of kings of more than one dynasty in the South. They have left their mark not only on literature but also on epigraphy. The unpublished kāvya entitled *Rukmiṇīkalyāṇa* and bearing the name of a V.C.[1] gives valuable information in the opening chapter about the family of this author and their patrons, the Ballāla kings of Dorasamudra, the predecessors of the more famous Vijayanagara rulers. On the face of it, the name V.C. shows that it is a title conferred by the patrons on these writers for their proficiency in different branches of learning. This fact also necessitates an inquiry into the different writers who bore the title V.C.

The name V.C. would be familiar to students of Sanskrit literature from a few works which have already seen the light of the day. These along with the unpublished material in manuscript associated with this name, would now be dealt with. The general name V.C. with a little variation had been borne by three different authors belonging to a family. It would therefore be necessary to examine all works bearing this name as author and to find out the different V.C.s and the works which could be determined as the compositions of each one of them.

In 1910, the *Trivandrum Sanskrit Series* issued a text called the *Virūpākṣa Pacñāśikā* (No. 9) of Virūpākṣanātha with a commentary by a V.C. At the end of the commentary there is

1. V.C. is used hereafter to denote Vidyācakravarttin.

the only historical reference by the author, namely, the mention of the name of Govindacandra,[1] who may be a patron or teacher. Except the Śaivite[2] character of the commentary and of its author which would accord with the religious preferences as we shall see of this family of authors, there is no other positive indication to identify the V.C. who wrote the commentary.

In the same Series, in 1926 and 1930, a commentary on the well-known alaṁkāra work, the *Kāvyaprakāśa* of Mammaṭa entitled the *Saṁpradāyaprakāśinī* was issued in two volumes (Nos. 88 and 100). The author of this commentary is one V.C. The colophon to the commentary is more informative as the author gives here a number of titles which bring out his importance as a literary figure. More important is the fact mentioned here that he belonged to the family of another V.C., referred to as Tribhuvana – V.C. (*Śrīmat-Tribhuvana-Vidyācakravarttivamśāvataṁsa)*. From quotations in the body of the commentary it is also learnt that he wrote a shorter commentary (*Laghutīkā)*[3] on the same work and a commentary called the *Sanjīvanī)*[4] on another alaṁkāra work. the *Alaṁkārasarvasva* of Ruyyaka, a compendium of the Nāṭya Śāstra called the *Bharatasaṁgraha*[5] and probably also a work called the *Rasamīmāṁsa*[6]. Among the illustrative verses in the published commentaries by V.C. on the *Kāvyaprakāśa* and the *Alaṁkārasarvasva*, are panegyrics on the kings of the Ballāḷa dynasty, who as we shall see, were the patrons of these authors.

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1. kṛteyam vivṛtirlaghvi Śrīvidyācakravartina,
   *Govindacandradhī*nāmni nikaṣe vinivesitā.

2. The colophon at the end of the commentary on the *Virūpākṣa Pañcāśika* reads as:
   Iti śrīvirūpākṣapañcāśikāyāṁ *Mahāmaheśvara Vidyācakravartikṛta*-Vivṛtisametāyām.

3. Dr. V. Raghavan, *A.B.O.R.I.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 256–7.

4. The *Sañjīvanī* was originally edited by the present writer under the guidance of Dr. V. Raghavan, as thesis for the M. Litt. Degree of the Madras University. It has been published by M/s. Meharchand Lacchmandas, Delhi (1965).

5. Dr. V. Raghavan, *The Bharatasaṁgraha* of V.C., *op. cit.*

6. Dr. V. Raghavan, *A.B.O.R.I.*, Vol. XVI, p. 140.

From the *Sañjīvani* on the *Alaṁkārasarvasva*, by the same writer, we come to know that he wrote a treatise on grammar called the *Prayogadīpikā*. As an appendix to the *Sañjīvanī*, V.C. composed also memorial verses giving a resume of the subject-matter.

We also know of the name Cakravarttin, V.C., or a fuller form of the name from references in certain other printed works. For example in the anthology *Sūktiratnahāra* of Kaliṅgarāya Sūrya[1] (T.S.S. No. 141), there are verses extracted with the author's names, Sakala Vidyādhara (pp. 43, 195, 198, 217 and 218), Sakala V.C. (p. 31) and Sakala Vidyādhara Cakravarttin (p. 249). It is difficult to assign the verses to any particular author of the family or known work, for they are all subhāṣitas.

A writer named Trivikrama who summarised *Kādambarī* in verses in a work entitled *Kādāmbarīkathāsāra*[2] mentions his teacher as a Cakravarttin.[3] In the above mentioned cases, the nature of the name and the description of the persons are in favour of our taking them as a member of the family of authors which we are discussing.

II. Manuscript sources:

Coming to manuscript material there is first the *Rukmiṇī-kalyāṇa* mentioned at the outset, a mahākāvya, in sixteen

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1. See Dr. V. Raghavan, *Sūktiratnahāra of Kāliṅgarāya Sūrya*, *J.O.R.*, Vol. XIII, Part IV, p. 301.

2. *Venkatesvara Oriental Series*, No. 60 (1957).

3. aprabuddhamapi sarvatomukhaṁ māṁ prabodhitavate
parātmakam,
akramaṁsphuritasarvaś'aktaye *Cakravartigurave* namo namaḥ.
upaś'amayitā cintāgranthernibarhayitāṁhasaḥ
pariṇamayitā kalyāṇasya prakārayitā ś'riyaḥ,
pratijanayitā duḥkhocchitteḥ prakārayitātmano
manasi bhavitā nityaṁ ś'rīcakravartikaviś'varaḥ.

The Colophon at the end of each sarga runs as—
Iti *Śrīmatsakalavidyādharacakravarticaraṇāravindaśekharasya*
ś'rīrājarājasūnoḥ Trivikramasya . . .

cantos preserved in a manuscript.[1] The author of this is a V.C. and the opening canto is devoted to an account of the families of the author and their patrons. Elsewhere[2] the present writer has analysed the data offered by the manuscript, and it is enough to set forth here the following facts: Firstly, three V.C.s who would be referred to, hereafter in this Introduction as V.C. I, V.C. II and V.C. III respectively in the reigns of Ballāḷa II, Someśvara and Ballāḷa III, are known from the account in this poem. From the descriptions of these three in an indirect manner we are enabled to call the first, Tribhuvana V.C.,[3] the second, Sakala V.C.,[4] and the third, Kavicakravarttin.[5] Secondly, on the side of the patrons, the *Rukmiṇikalyāṇa* gives the names of the following Ballāḷa kings in succession Ballāḷa II (1173-1220 A.D.), Narasiṁha II (1220–1235 A.D.), Someśvara (1234–1256 A.D.), Narasiṁha III (1254–1291 A.D.), and Ballāḷa III (1291–1342 A.D.). Thirdly, a certain number of historical events of the reigns of the kings are also known from the poem. These would be discussed in due course. Further the author of the kāvya has written a commentary on the *Prakīrṇaka* as also many epigraphical panegyrics[6] in honour of his patron.

In the Introduction to the critical Edition of the Sañjīvanī already referred to, it has been shown that the V.C. who worte the commentaries on the *Kāvyaprakāśa* and *Alaṁkārasarvasva* and the V.C. who wrote the *Rukmiṇīkalyāṇa* are identical. Although no definite name is mentioned, this V.C., in a general way, refers to his contributions in the field of drama as well as to compendia on Vedānta, Yoga and Āgama, among his own literary activities. From a personal reference explaining why

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1. R. 3666, Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, Madras.
2. pp. 19–25, *Introduction to the Sañjīvanī on the Alaṁkārasarvasva.*
3. *Vidyāsu* nāmnā *bhuvanatryes*pi *yaścakravartī*tyupagītakīrtiḥ,
4. . . . *(a)śeṣavidyā* (guṇā) *nugamān*nirūḍhaiḥ.
5. tenopanīyāvarajo vinītaḥ prasiddhanāmā *kavicakravartī.*
6. unmīlitasthāpitabhūmipāladeśeṣu padyairupavarṇya gitāḥ . . . . *mahāśilāsu Ballālabhupasya* bhujapratāpāḥ.

he wrote the poem the author could be known to have composed it in the evening of his life.[1]

There is a short Śaivite text in ten ślokas entitled *Daśaślokī*, preserved in a manuscript,[2] where again we come across the name V.C.[3] There is no further detail to clinch the identity of the author V.C. who composed the work.

Perhaps the most important literary composition is a prose work called *Gadyakarṇāmṛta*, a munuscript of which was discovered in Mysore and reported in the Mysore Archaeological Report for 1924. From the informative colophon in the manuscript of the work, we know not only the author to be a Sakala V.C. but also one, who was given a good number of titles, which are useful, as we shall see, in further determining his identity and his relation with the kings of the time. From the preliminary report of the manuscript it has been known for sometime now that this prose work modelled on the *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa, is like that work, of historical importance. Briefly stated, in the available portion, the main historical events in the reign of Narasiṁha II (1220–1235 A.D.) and Someśvara (1234–1256 A.D.), namely their encounters with the Tamil kings and chiefs is described. As a prelude to it, the birth and early life of Someśvara is described in a mythological setting at the beginning of the work.

III. Epigraphical sources:

With the data set forth above, we shall now collate the available epigraphical evidences. As already observed the

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1. soshaṁ pravṛddhāmupabhujya Lakṣmīṁ prasūya putrānanurūpaśīlān,
vicārya cātmānabāhyakāmo Viṣṇuṁ bhaje vākkaluṣāponutyai.
bhuktvā bhogāniha samucitānyuktasādyairamayādya,
vyāvarṇyante yadukulabhuvo Vāsudevasya līlāḥ.

2. D. 1533, Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, Madras. Since published by Dr. V. Raghavan in *Malayamāruta*. Part I the Central Sanskrit Institute, Tirupati, 1966.

3. The colophon to the work reads as :
Its *Śrividyācakravarti*viracitā das'as'loki sampurṇā.

poets of the family figure also as writers of inscriptions.[1] A good number of such inscriptions are available in print as well as estampages and transcripts in the department of Epigraphy.[2] These inscriptions disclose not only some historical data but also supply interesting personal information about the poet-authors.

There are a few inscriptions in the Karṇāṭaka that refer to a Vidyādhara,[3] Kavirājayya,[4] and Vidyārājabhaṭṭa,[5] but the information supplied therein is meagre and does not help in connecting them with the members of the V.C. family. An inscription[6] from Nāgamaṅgala in the same region is of some interest, since the donee therein is described as Cakravartibhaṭṭopādhyaya. son of Rāja-guru Sarvajña Viṣṇubhaṭṭa (*Śrimadrājaguru-sarvajña-viṣṇubhaṭṭaiyaṅgalu makalu Cakravartibhaṭṭopādhyayarige*). Owing to the in-accuracies of the details of the date mentioned in this inscription, the above Nāgamaṅgala record is assigned doubtfully to 1425 A.D. But,

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1. *Sañjīvanī* on the *Sarvasva* (p. 53)
*mahārājānosa*rājalakuladvāri pras'astis'ilās'āsanaprabhṛtibhiḥ, vayamupaśāntarabhasāḥ.

2. I am thankful to Dr. Gai for lending and permitting me to make use of the transcripts of the following unpublished inscriptions—482 of 1908; 369, 370, 371 of 1925; 117 of 1934–35; 207 and 208 of 1938–39; 247 of 1941–42. I am thankful to Dr. V. Raghavan for lending the transcript of 312 of 1954–55 in his possession as also for securing the above-mentioned unpublished records from the Epigraphical department, Ooty and for interpreting them.

3. *E.C.*, Vol. XI, Holalkere 12 and 13, dated 1210 A.D. record endowments to a Vidyādhara.

4. *E.C.*, Vol. VI, Kāḍūr 49, dated 1291 A.D. refers to a Kavirājayya as the manager of Brahmaleśvara temple of Bommadi Bāṇavūr in Āsandināḍ during the time of Someśvara.

5. *E.C.*, Vol. IX. Māgaḍi 38, 39 dated 1315 A.D. Māgaḍi 38 records the grant of Ballāla III to Vidyārājubhaṭṭu, elephants and the village by name Gejjagarakuppe with all rights. Māgaḍi 39 refers to the stone itself on which the endowment is engraved as named after Vidyārāja (Vidyārāja-jagati-kaṭṭe).

6. *E.C.*, Vol. IV. Nāgamaṅgala 106.

a Sarvajña Viṣṇu Bhaṭṭāraka is mentioned in two other records[1] from Yedatore in the same Karṇāṭaka region, as belonging to the period of Ballāla III (1291–1342). In the above records from Yedatore, Viṣṇubhaṭṭa is referred to as a rājaguru and a Sarvajña. A municipal notice board with the signature of rājaguru Viṣṇu upādhyāya found in a Belur[2] record, shows him to be a person of some importance. Since Viṣṇubhaṭṭa mentioned in the Nāgamaṅgala record is also referred to as Sarvajña and rājaguru, he may be identical with the person of the same name and titles of the Yedatore records belonging to the reign of Ballāla III. The Nāgamaṅgala record referring to Cakravartibhaṭṭa as a son of Viṣṇubhaṭṭa is therefore assignable to the period of Ballāla III. It is noteworty in this connection that V.C. III patronised by Ballāla III refers to a Guru Viṣṇudeva in his *Sañjīvanī* (p. 17) on the *Sarvasva*. Herein, while illustrating *Karuṇa-rasa*, V.C. refers poetically to the proficiency in Sāhitya of Guru Viṣṇudeva.[3] As the Viṣṇubhaṭṭa mentioned in the above records of Ballāla III (1291–1342 A.D.) is referred to as a Rājaguru, one may be justified in connecting him with the Guru Viṣṇudeva, the guru of the author of the *Sañjīvanī*. V.C. III who also flourished in the reign of the same Ballāla III.[4]

The following is a classified list of inscriptions from Tamilnad. They form a more substantial source of information on the V.C.s, and several personal details relating to them.

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1. *E.C.*, Vol. IV, Yedatore 43, 44, dated respectively 1311 A.D. and 1322 A.D. records the grant of Ballāla III to Harihara son of Sarvajña Viṣṇubhaṭṭa.

2. *E.C.*, Vol. XV, Belur 341.

3. *sāhitayalakṣaṇakale* samupaiṣi navyavaidhavyamadya virate
guruviṣṇudeve,
karṇāntikapraṇayanapraṇayotsavāya tālīdalārpaṇamitaḥ
paramakṣamaṁ te

4. It is further tempting to suggest the possible identity of the Sarvajña Viṣṇudava with the father of Cannubhaṭṭa, the author of a commentary on *Tarkabhāsā* but patronised by Harihara II (1376–1404 A.D.); and the Sarvajña Viṣṇubhaṭṭopadhyaya, author of the *Rjuvivarana añcapādikā* which is also quoted in the *Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha* (pp. 457–8).

Sl. No.	No.	Date	Dynasty	Find-spot	Reference	Language
1	51 of 1892	1269 A.D.	Hoysaḷa	Śrīraṅgam	Published (S.I.I., Vol. IV, No. 498)	Sanskrit
2	52 of 1892	,,	,,	,,	*Ibid.*, No. 499	Tamil and Sanskrit
3	544 of 1902	Undated	Bāṇa	Tiruvaṇṇāmalai	Published (S.I.I., Vol. VIII, No. 135)	Sanskrit
4	482 of 1908	Undated	Bāṇa	Truvānaikkāval	Unpublished	Sanskrit
5–7	369, 370 and 371 of 1925	,,	,,	Nārattaṁpūṇḍi	,,	,,
8	117 of 1934–35	,,	,,	Arakaṇḍanallūr	,,	,,
9	207 of 1938–39	1209 A.D.	Cola	Tiruveḷḷaṟai	,,	Tamil and Sanskrit
10	208 of 1938-39	1213 A.D.	,,	,,	,,	,,
11	247 of 1941–42	Undated	Bāṇa	Tiruppaṟaṅkunram	,,	Sanskrit
12	312 of 1954–55	,,	Hoysaḷa	Kancipuram	Unpublished Dr.V. Raghavan has taken it up for edition in the E.I.	,,

Of the ten inscriptions listed above, one (312 of 1954–55) relates to the "Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa", two (51 and 52 of 1892) are dated in the reign of Hoysaḷa Rāmanātha (1254–95 A.D.), two (207 and 208 of 1938–39) bear the Cola dates, 31st and 35th year of Kulottuṅga Cola III (1178–1216) A.D., and five others are undated and refer to a Bāṇa chief.

The first-mentioned inscription[1] in Sanskrit is incised on the entrance to the Kāmākṣī shrine of Kāñcī, and mentions its author as Kavicakravarttin, and the patron as Ballāla. As a verse here occurs also in the *Sañjīvanī* on the *Sarvasva* and the *Saṁpradāyaprakāśinī* on the *Kāvyaprakāśa*, it is evident that the V.C. who wrote this inscription is V.C. III who flourished in the court of Ballāla III (1291–1342 A.D.). The historical importance of the inscription is that it is an eulogy of Ballāla III as victor over Colas and the Pāṇḍyas and a restorer of a Pallava king to the throne at Kāñcī.

The next two records,[2] 51 and 52 of 1892 are found in the prākāra of the Raṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam. They both belong to the 15th year of Hoysaḷa Rāmanātha (1254–95 A.D.) and hence assigned to 1269 A.D. The purpose of the two records is the endowment made by a certain Śokka Villi Bhaṭṭa to the Raṅganātha temple, of some valuable gifts like a ruby-studded crown and a pair of chowries with golden handles.[3] The noteworthy feature of the Śrīraṅgam records lies in the title Sakala V.C. given to the donor Śokka Villi Bhaṭṭa. Could this Śokka Villi Bhaṭṭa alias Sakala V.C. be identified with one of the three V.C.s whom we know from the *Rukmiṇīkalyāṇa?*

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1. The record is unpublished. Dr. V. Raghavan has taken it up for edition in *E.I.*

2. Published in S.I.I., Vol. IV, Nos. 498, 499.

3. yatprītātvīrapāṇḍyācchatamakhamakuṭanyastahastāravindā-
dvidyāsāmrājyacihnaṁ bhuvi sakalakalāsārvabhaumena
labdham,
tattenoddīptaratnaṁ mukuṭamapi ca taccāmaradvandvaminduc-
chāyācoraṁ kalācīsacivamupadade raṅgadhāmne tridhāmne.

The date of the Śrīraṅgam inscriptions, namely, 1269 A.D. precludes the possibility of Śokka Villi Bhaṭṭa being considered identical with either V.C. I or V.C. III who flourished respectively in the courts of Ballāla I (1173–1220 A.D.) and Ballāla III (1291–1342 A.D.), V.C. II contemporaneous with Someśvara (1234–56) is evidently the same V.C., author of the *GK.*[1] that recounts the historical events during the reigns of the Hoysaḷa kings, Narasiṁha II and Someśvara. The possibility of the identity of Śokka Villi Bhaṭṭa with V.C. II, may now be considered.

The Śrīraṅgam records refer to Śokka Villi Bhaṭṭa not only as Sakala V.C., but also as Kariyamaṟi[2] and Sakalakalāsārvabhauma.[3] The above titles can be compared with those occurring in the following colophon at the end of the *GK.*

> Kavirājarājābhinavabhaṭṭabāṇakalikālakālidāsakāhalakavisārvabhaumakālakali (ri) kalabhasakalavidyācakravartiviracitagadyakarṇāmṛtam samāptam.

In the Purāṇic introduction[4] to the *GK.* also its author is called Kālakalabha. The title Kariyamaṟi given to Śokka Villi in the Tamil record is evidently an equivalent of Kālakarikalabha. The titles and dates of the Śrīraṅgaṁ records as also those of the *GK.* therefore, do not make impossible the identity of Śokka Villi with V.C. II.

That Śokka Villi of the Śrīraṅgam records enjoyed the favour of Vīra Pāṇḍya,[5] is evident in the valuable presents

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1. The *Gadyakarnāmṛta* is hereafter referred to as *GK.*
2. Śokka Villi Bhaṭṭarāna mudaliyār Kariyamaṟi Sakala Vidyācakravarttigal (52 of 1892).
3. Vidyāsāmrājyacihnaṁ bhuvi sakalakalāsārvabhaumena labdham. (51 of 1892)
4. dharātalādanalpatapaḥphalaparipākaprakāśita pārameśvarāgama pāramārthyena kṛtinā katyāyinīcaraṇaśekhareṇa Kālakalabhanāmnā *kavicakravartinā* pravartitam . . .
5. In the latter half of the 13th century, there were the two Pāṇḍyan kings, Māravarman Vīra Pāṇḍya II (1252–67) and Jaṭavarman Vīra Pāṇḍya II (1254–75 A.D.). There is no detail to clinch the identity of Vīra Pāṇḍya of the Śrīraṅgaṁ records with one of the above-mentioned kings.

given to him by the king; the epithet 'mudaliār' attached to his own name, as 'Śokka Villi Bhaṭṭarāna Mudaliār' also reveals the royal favour enjoyed by him. For, 'Mudaliār' or 'Mudali' in Tamil means 'the foremost' or 'those in the foremost' and applies to persons occupying important places in royal service, in army etc. The fact of Śokka Villi being honoured by a Pāṇḍyan king does not argue against his identity with V.C. II. The *Rukmiṇīkalyāṇa*[1] of V.C. III, refers to its author's ancestors holding honourable positions in successive Hoysaḷa courts as well as in the assemblies of other kings and learned men. It is a known fact that the Hoysaḷas in the 12th to 14th centuries interfered frequently in the affairs of the Southern powers in their ambition for territorial expansion and in doing so, maintained the political balance by supporting the weaker king, be he a Cōḷa or a Pāṇḍya. During the latter half of the 13th century, the Hoysaḷas were friendly with the Pāṇḍyas and from the *Rukmiṇīkalyāṇa* it is learnt that Vāsudeva, the son of V.C. II was honoured by the Pāṇḍyan king with the title of Vallabha.[2] It is no wonder therefore that Śokka Villi, who bore the proud title of Sakala V.C., and who was the court poet of the Hoysaḷa Someśvara was honoured by the Pāṇḍyan king. Someśvara is known[3] to have divided his large empire for the sake of efficient management between his two sons Narasiṁha III and Rāmanātha; the latter in whose 15th regnal year Śokka Villi made the valuable endowments according to the Śrīraṅgaṁ records, ruled over the Tamil countries and the East of Mysore. It is probable that Śokka Villi alias V.C. II was at

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1. Vaidyanātha, the father of V.C. II was the recipient of praises and honoured seats in the courts of many kings.

nissaṁs'ayaṁ vetti caturdas'āpi vidyā iti sphīpadānyudīrya,
padyāni yasmai viniveśyatesma bhadrāsanā (naṁ) bhūmibhṛtāṁ sabhāsu.

V.C. III also enjoyed similar privileges.

yacchatrabhadrāsana cāmarādyaiḥ sphītairmahārājapadairbhunakti,
sabhāsu rājñāṁ ca *vipaścitāṁ ca* sāhityarājyaṁ kavicakravartī.

2. prithvīpatiḥ prītimavāpya *pāṇḍyastaṁ vallbhossīti* yamājuhava.

3. Derrett, *The Hoysaḷas*, p. 128.

first in the court of Someśvara who ruled over both the Karṇāṭaka and Tamil regions and then stayed in the court of Rāmanatha in the Tamil country.

The remaining two dated records, 207 and 208 of 1938-39 that furnish valuable information about a V.C. are the two unpublished ones from Tiruveḷḷaṟai, in Lalgudi Taluq, Trichy. They are both found in the prākāra of the Puṇḍarīkākṣa Perumāl temple at Tiruveḷḷaṟai. Of them, No. 207 is dated in the 31st year of Tribhuvanavīradeva, that is Kulottuṅga Cōla III (1178–1216 A.D.) and record No. 208 is dated in the 35th year of the same king. They therefore belong respectively to 1209 A.D. and 1213 A.D. The purpose of both the records is the endowment of large amounts of money (5000 kāsus in No. 207 and 15,240 in No. 208) by a certain Karpaga Villi, for feeding persons in the Karpaga Villi maṭha at Tiruveḷḷaṟai, more than a thousand in number who offered their services during the festival in the Puṇḍarīkākṣa temple. The more valuable information supplied in the two records is, however, the details regarding the donor Karpaga Villi. They are :—

1. The titles of Karpaga Villi–Tirutterponmenda (veynda?) perumāl, Vājapeyayājin, Sakalavidyādharacakravarttin, Kavirāja, Sakalavidyācakravarttin, and Tribhuvanakavicakravarttin.

2. Karpaga Villi belonged to Ālaṁbākkam, also called as Madhurāntakacaturvedimaṅgalam.[1]

3. A maṭha was established at Tiruveḷḷaṟai after the name of Karpaga Villi.

Further the record No. 208 in Tamil contains a verse in Sanskrit at its beginning, which refers not only to the establishment of a maṭha by the donor but also gives his other name as Dhanvimiśra.

śvetaśailāti(dhi)vāsibhyo dvijanmabhyaḥ pratiśrayaḥ,
kalpito *dhanvimiśreṇa kavīnāñcakravartinā.*

Śvetaśaila in the above verse is the Sanskrit name of Tiruveḷḷaṟai (aṟai in Tamil means a rock), the variants Śvetagiri

1. 'Ālaṁbākkamāna. Madhurāntaka-caturvedimaṅgalattu Tirutterponmey(vey?)nda Perumāl Karpaga Villi'— 208 of 1938-39.

and Śvetadri being found in the Divyaprabhandams of the Ālvār-saints.[1] The village Tiruveḷḷaṟai is at a distance of 12 miles north of Trichy and among the ancient monuments are the rock-cut Śiva temple of Jambunātha and the Viṣṇu temple of Puṇḍarīkākṣa Perumāl with another rock-cut cave.[2] Dhanvin, referred to in the above verse as the other name of the donor Karpaga Villi, is clearly the Sanskrit form of Tamil 'Villi' in the scholar's name. Is there any possibility of identifying Karpaga Villi alias Sakala V.C. of the Tiruveḷḷaṟai records with one of the three V.C.s referred to the *Rukmiṇīkalyāṇa ?*

Of the title given to Karpaga Villi we are already familiar with Kavicakravarttin, Sakala V.C., and Sakala Vidyādhāracakravarttin, being the variants applied to the poets attached to successive Hoysaḷa kings. The title Tribhuvanakavicakravarttin applied to Karpaga Villi can be compared with the following lines in the *Rukmiṇīkalyāṇa* describing V.C. I :

vidyāsu nāmnā bhuvanatrayespi yaścakravartīyupagīta-
kīrtiḥ.
āsthāna(vi)dvatpravarasya(ssa) tasya rājñaḥ praśastiṁ
prathyāṁbabhūva.

It is also noteworthy that V.C. III at the end of each ullāsa in the *Sampradāyaprakāśinī* on the *Kāvyaprakāśa* refers to himself as a descendant of Tribhuvana V.C. *(śrīmat-Tribhuvanavidyācakravartti-vaṁśāvatṁsa)*. The epithet Vājapeyayājin describing Karpaga Villi would also support his identification with V.C. I. For the *Rukmiṇīkalyāṇa* bears evidence of the members of the Cakravarttin-family being orthodox brahmans and performers of Agnihotra and Atirātra sacrifices.[3]

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1. Nūṟṟeṭṭu Tirupatiprabhāvam (Tamil), p. 5.

2. P. 154, *E.I.*, Vol. XI, '*Tiruvellarai Inscription of Dantivarman*' K. V. Subramanya Iyer.

3. *niragnihotrāḥ* parimandavāco na kecana brahmavicāraśūnyāḥ,
āsannanaisargikasiddhavidyā dvijāḥ kule yasya tapobhiriddhaiḥ.
śrīvallabhakhyasya suto*stirātrayajvā* Mahādevasamāhvayos-
bhūt.
yastotraśastrānugatairatantra(ndra?)māvartamanairatirātra-
yajvā.

The title Tirutterponme(ve)yndaperumāḷ given to Karpaga Villi is supposed[1] to have been assumed by the poet out of deference to his patron, Bāṇā chief, Ponmeyndaperumal Magadaipperumal of Aragalūr. A V.C. has no doubt composed panegyrics on the above-mentioned Bāṇa chief. The Bāṇa chief is however, referred to as 'Ponparappinān' owing to his gilding the Tiruvaṇṇāmalai temple, while in the epithet applied to Karpaga Villi, there is a specific reference to the car (Tirutter) of a temple. The establishment of a maṭha in Tiruveḷḷaṟai and endowments also of large amounts of money for feeding many people show Karpaga Villi to be an affluent and a generous person. It is therefore possible that Karpaga Villi himself has gilded the car of a temple, probably, the one belonging to the Puṇḍarīkākṣa temple, mentioned in the Tiruveḷḷaṟai records. The V.C.s also, as seen in the *Rukmiṇīkalyāṇa* were not only rich with the gifts from many royal patrons but were also philosophical-minded and generous.

Says V.C. III in the above Kāvya while describing himself:

yatcchadrabhadrāsanacāmaradyaiḥ sphītairmahārāja-
padairbhunakti,
sabhāsu rājñāṁ ca vipaścitāṁ ca sāhityarājyaṁ
kavicakravartī.
soshaṁ pravṛddhāmupabhujya Lakṣmīṁ prasūya
putrānanurūpaśīlān,
vicarya cātmānabāhyakāmo Viṣṇum bhaje vakkaluṣā-
panutyai.
bhuktvā bhogāniha samucitānyuktasādhyairmayādya,
vyāvarṇyante yadukulabhuvo Vāsudevasya lilāḥ.

The contemperaneity of V. C. I with Ballāla II (1173 – 1220 A.D.) and the dates of the Tiruveḷḷaṟai records that mention Karpaga Villi, namely, 1209 and 1213 A.D., would also support the identification of Karpaga Villi with V.C. I. That the records mentioning Karpaga Villi bear the dates of Kulottuṅga Cōḷa does not militate against his identification with V.C. I. attached to the court of the Hoysaḷa Ballāla II.

1. *A.R.E.*, for 1938–39, p. 78.

The Hoysaḷas are known to have been intimately connected with the Cōḷas since the time of Ballāla II. The prose work *GK.* itself deals with the help rendered by Narasiṁha II, son of Ballāla II to the Cōḷa Rājarāja III, son of Kulottuṅga III whose dates are found in the Tiruveḷḷaṟai records. The *Rukmiṇīkalyāṇa* also attests the fact of the ancestors of its author being honoured in assemblies of not only the Hoysaḷa kings but also those of other kings.

A noteworthy point in one of the above Tiruveḷḷaṟai records, that is, No. 208 of 1938–39, is the reference to Ālaṁbākkam as the place of Karpaga Villi. The village Ālaṁbakkam has been identified with the village of the same name situated at a distance of 12 miles from Lalgudi on the Road to Ariyalur. Madhurāntakacaturvedimaṅgalam is also known to be another name of Ālaṁbākkam in ancient times and was situated in Poygaināḍu, which was a sub-division of Rājendrasiṅgavalanāḍu.[1]

It is therefore, seen, that the Tiruveḷḷaṟai records are important, from more than one point, in the history of the V.C.s. In the first instance, there are the possibilities of considering Karpaga Villi in the above records as identical with V.C. I. On the above identification, it may follow that an ancestor of family of poets belonged to the Tamil country.[2] Secondly, the alias Dhanvin, that is the Sanskrit equivalent of 'Villi' in Karpaga Villi leads us to another surmise. On the identification of Karpaga Villi with V.C. I and Śokka Villi with V.C. II, it is seen that Villi is a common appellation of two V.C.s; Dhanvin also could have been the common name of V.C. I and V.C. II.

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1. K. V. Subramania Iyer, *E.I.*, Vol. XI, p. 155.

2. The Tamil words in the inscription of V.C. I are 'Alṁbākkamāna Madhurāntacaturvedimaṅgalttu Karpaga Villi'. Whether we can interpret the above expression to refer V.C. I as a native of Ālaṁbākkam and whether consequently the V.C.s were originally natives of the Tamil country and later on patronised by the Hoysaḷas requires more positive proof. It may be noted in this connection that the connected account in the *Rukminīkalyāṇa* of Cakravarttins as patronised by the Hoysaḷas in the Karṇāṭaka region starts with V.C. I associated with Ālaṁbākkam.

A Dhanvin is known to have written the commentary *Dīpa* on *Drāhyāyaṇa Śrauta Sūtra* or *Khādira Sūtra* of the *Rāṇāyanīya śākhā*. Out of the thirty-one Paṭalas of the above Sūtra only fifteen have been printed[1] with the *Bhāṣya* of Dhanvin. It is probably a work of Karpaga Villi or V.C. I known by the alias of Dhanvin. On the other hand, if Dhanvin is considered the common name of V.C. I and V.C. II, then it is assignable to either of them. From the available colophons of the above commentary, it is learnt that Dhanvin belonged to the Kāśyapa gotra[2] and that his favourite deity was Lord Viṣṇu.[3] In the hitherto available literature regarding the V.C. family, nothing is known of their gotra. The fact of Dhanvin's identification with a V.C. being granted, the *Dīpa* commentary can be taken to give the gotra to which the V.C. family belonged. The fact of Dhanvin's devotion to Lord Viṣṇu does not argue against his identification with a V.C., whose family members are known to be Śaivites and also well-versed in Śaivite philosophy. The V.C.s, as seen in literature and inscriptions appear to possess a broad outlook and religious toleration. It is quite in the fitness of things that the V.C.s, moving freely and honoured in the Karṇāṭaka and Tamil royal assemblies represented the spirit of the age in which they flourished. The Karṇātaka region, especially, in the 11-14th centuries, under Hoysaḷa

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1. J. N. Reuter published the first ten Paṭalas of the *Drāhyāyana Śrauta Sūtra* with the *Dīpa* of Dhanvin as Part I (London, 1904). Paṭalas 11–15 were later published by Dr. Raghu Vira in the *Journal of Vedic Studies*, Vol. I, No. 1 (Jan. 1934).

2. The colophon to the first Paṭala runs as :
   Iti *kāśyapagotreṇa dhanvinā* prītaye Hareḥ,
   chandogasūtre dīpoṣyam prathame paṭale kṛtaḥ.

   The colophons to the second and third Paṭalas refer to the author as Kāśyapnandana.

3. At the end of the first Paṭala Dhanvin says :
   Iti chandogasūtrasyadipevsmindanvinā kṛte,
   dvitīyaḥ paṭalo vṛttaḥ prīyatāṁ devakīsutah.

   In the colophons to the 4th, 6th and 9th Paṭalas, Dhanvin expresses his devotion of Lord Kṛṣṇa.

administration was the cradle of many religions like Jainism, Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism as also cults like those of Liṅgāyat and Harihara. The V.C. family that was intimately connected with the Ballāla family, no doubt, reflected this spirit of religious tolerance. There is another factor that correlates Dhanvin with the V.C.s, and it is this, namely, his self-reference[1] as 'a person dear to the learned'. The V.C.s also were quite conscious of their own literary achievements. The fact[2] of the extensive use of Dhanvin's commentary by Sāyaṇa in compiling his commentaries on the *Pañcaviṁśa* and *Ṣaḍviṁśa Brāhmaṇās* shows that Dhanvin's reference to himself is not a mere boast but is justifiable.

The remaining seven records that are important in connection with the V.C. family are not dated and all of them are verses composed by a V.C. There are seventeen such inscriptional verses on the Bāṇa chief, Rājarājadevan Ponnarappinān Magadhaipperumāl of Āragalūr. The seventeen verses are found in seven different places and in all but one of them, namely at Tiruvānaikkāval, the name of the composer is given as V.C. The Tiruvānaikkāval records however contain a verse, *Bāṇeśvarah pāṇitale* etc., that is found included in three other places, amongst the compositions of V.C. The details of these Cakravarttin inscriptions on the Bāṇa chief are given below in the order of their occurrence in the Annual Reports of Epigraphy, Madras, since all of them are undated:

1. 544 of 1902, and published in *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 135. The inscription is found engraved in the Kiligopura in the Aruṇācala Temple at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai and consists of three verses, *Likhatu bhujasahasram* etc., *Pūrvaṁ pañcakamadya* etc., and *Jitvā bāhubalena* etc. The first of the above mentioned verses gives the name of the composer as Sakala V.C. and it

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1. Colophon to the 8th Paṭala of Dhanvin's *Bhāṣya*:
kalpokṭaṁ brāhmaṇoktaṁ ca yathāvadavadhārayan,
aṣṭamaṁ paṭalaṁ vyākhyddhanvī medhāvināṁ priyaḥ.

2. J. N. Reuter, *op. cit.*, p. 1.
Dr. Raghu Vira, *op. cit.*, p. iii.

will be seen presently that it occurs in other Bāṇa inscriptions by this Cakravarttin. The Bāṇa chief is addressed in the above verses as Bāṇeśvara and Bāṇa.

Except for the first verse *Likhatu Bhujasahasram* occurs in other Bāṇa inscriptions, the other two verses occur only in this Tiruvaṇṇāmalai record.

2. 482 of 1908,[1] found on the Western gopura of Jambukeśvara temple at Tiruvānaikkāval, in two pieces. It consists of three verses. *Jayatyasau Bāṇapatiḥ* etc., *Bāṇeśvaraḥ pāṇitale* etc., *Jayatyasau Bāṇapatiḥ* etc. (only the first line is the same as in the first verse). The name of the composer V.C. is not found in the above Tiruvānaikkāval record but the second verse *Bāṇeśvaraḥ pāṇitale* etc., is found included in other Bāṇa verses definitely known to have been composed by V.C. Except for this second verse, the two other verses in this record are not to be found in other Bāṇa inscriptions composed by V.C. At the beginning of the Tiruvānaikkāval record, the name of the patron is given as Vīra Māgadhan in Tamil and in the Sanskrit verses he is referred to as Bāṇapati.

3. Nos. 369, 370 and 371 of 1925 found in the Kailāsanātha temple at Nārattaṁpūṇḍi, Polur Taluk, N.A. District, and consist of thirteen verses. That V.C. is the composer of this inscription is evident not only in the beginning verses *Likhatu bhujasahasram* etc., *Śauryam rājakathāpramāthi* etc., but also in the end, where the composer V.C. is mentioned as being rewarded with lordly elephants for his composition :

> Bāṇeśvaraṁ prati kavirājarājena sakalavidyācakravartinā viracitāni mattakuñjaramūlyāni padyāni.

The verses are very fragmentary and corrupt. The patron-chief is referred to in the beginning as Ponparappinān Magadhaipperumāl in Tamil. In the following Sanskrit verses, the patron is referred to as Bāṇa, Bāṇādhinātha and Magadheśvara.

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1. Except 544 of 1902 all the other Bāṇa inscriptions composed by V.C. are unpublished.

4. 117 of 1934-35, found at Araganḍanallūr in the Tirukkoilūr taluk, S.A. District, and consists of the same thirteen verses as in the above Nārattaṁpūṇḍi records. The text in the Araganḍanallūr record is in a fairly good condition and except for this inscription, it would have been well-neigh impossible to read the Nārattaṁpūṇḍi verses. The patron is referred to at the beginning in Tamil as Rājarājadevan Ponparappinān Magadhaipperumāl.

5. 247 of 1941-42, found at the Subrahmaṇya temple at Tirupparaṅkunram, Madura district, and consists of two verses, *Likhatu bhujasahasram* etc., that gives the name of V.C. as the composer and *Bāṇeśvaraḥ pāṇitale* etc., that is included in the V.C. compositions on the Bāṇa.

The Bāṇa chief that is referred to in the above Cakravarttin inscriptions is Rājarājadevan Magadhāipperumāl with the title Ponparappinān conferred on him owing to his covering the roof of the Tiruvaṇṇāmalai temple with gold. V.C. himself refers to the above generous act of the chief in two of his verses at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai. Herein in one[1] of the verses, V.C. says that the Bāṇa chief snatched the Pāṇḍyan crowns on six occasions and that he handed over only one of them to the Cōḷa king. It further adds that the munificient Bāṇa offered the other five crowns to Aruṇācala, the presiding deity of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, and being thus dispossessed, has nothing to offer to the supplicant. In another verse[2] of his at the same place Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, V.C. describes poetically that the Bāṇa, having won over all the kings and collected bounties from

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1. pūrvaṁ pañcakamadya caikamamarakṣmāpālagarvadruhaḥ
paṇḍyātsaṁyāti saṁhṛtāni makuṭānyeteṣu Bāṇes'varāḥ,
ekañcolakṛte vitīrṇamaparāṇyadyāruṇakhyāyate
s'ailendrāya samarpitāni bhavatā kiṁ vārthine dāsyate.

S.I.I., Vol. VIII., No. 135

2. jitvā bāhubalena bahu jabalānyācchidya nīvīdhanam
tena svarṇamayes'varāya(cirāya ?)racite bāṇāruṇādrau tvayā,
sambhrāntyā bhuvanasya kiṁ tribhuvanabhrāntipratikṣepakaḥ
pūṣā bhrāmyati merubhūdharadhiyā savyaprayāṇodyataḥ.

them, covered the Aruṇādri with gold and that the sun mistook it for the Meru mountain.

The Bāṇas or the Magadhas, as they are otherwise called, were a family of chiefs in South India, that took considerable part in the shifting political affairs of the South. From the available data regarding them, we understand that they constantly changed their overlords. There has been some controversy regarding the regions they occupied in the 13th Century, and the identification of the Magadhaimaṇḍalam under their jurisdiction with the kingdom of Magara referred to in the Karṇāṭaka inscriptions of the Hoysaḷa Narasiṁha II, whose contemporary history is dealt with in the *GK*. Again, there has been a difference of opinion, whether there were two persons of the same name Rājarājadeva Magadhaipperumāl or there was only one person of the above name in the period under consideration. It is not proposed to go into these controversial points here[1] as they do not throw any light and are not necessary in this paper on the family history of the V.C.s.

As regards the composer of the Bāṇa inscriptions, it is already seen that they were all composed by the same Sakala V.C. The following lines that occur in four records[2] as the beginning verse refer to the author as a Sakala V.C.

likhatu bhujasahasraṁ kārtavīryārjunīyaṁ
paṭhatu mukhasamūhaḥ kādraveyādhipasya,
kavayati *kavirājaḥ kāmadhenuḥ kavīnāṁ*
sapadi *sakalavidyācakravartī kavīndraḥ*

The name Sakala V.C. is found also at the end of Nārattaṁpūḍi[3] and Araganḍanallūr records.

Bāṇeśvaraṁ prati *kavirājarājena sakalavidyācakravartinā* viricitāni mattakuñjaramūlyāni padyāni.

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1. They are dealt with in the present writer's unpublished Introduction to the edition of the *GK*.

2. 544 of 1902; 369 of 1925; 117 of 1934-35; 247 of 1941-42.

3. 369 of 1925.

The above-mentioned two records at Nārattaṁpūṇḍi and Araganḍanallūr,[1] refer to him as Kavicakravarttin in the second verse.

śauryaṁ rājakathāpramāthi caritaṁ śāstram(stra)
praṇetṛkramaṁ
dānaṁ svardrumapañcakapratibhaṭam manaśca dure
girām,
kāvyaṁ te kavicakravartiracitaṁ Bānādhināṭha tvayā
sāmyaṁ ke kavayeyuratra jagati pratyarthipṛthvībhujaṁ.

The possibility of finding out specifically, which of the three V.C.s could have written the Bāṇa inscriptions may now be considered. Though all the above records are not dated, it is possible to fix their approximate period with the knowledge of the dates of the Bāṇa-chief eulogised in them, namely Rāja-rājadevan Magadhaipperumāl of Āragalūr. The available records of the above Bāṇa chief range from the 3rd year to the 35th year, of Kulottuṅga III (1178–1218 A.D.), that is, from 1181 A.D. to 1213 A.D.[2] It is also known[3] that the above Bāṇa chief is referred to with the title Ponparappinān from the 4th year of Kulottuṅga III, that is from 1182 A.D. The only fact that is not yet known with certainty is whether the year 1213 A.D. marks the end of the activity of the chief or not.

The above details regarding the Bāṇa chief, preclude the possibility of the author Sakala V.C., the composer of the above chief's panegyrics, being V.C. III who flourished in the 14th century. Of V.C.s I and II, there are greater possibilities of the former being the author of the Bāṇa inscriptions due to his belonging almost to the same period as that of the Bāṇa chief. For V.C. I was the court poet of Ballāḷa II (1173–1220 A.D.) and the Tiruveḷḷaṟai records of Karpaga Villi who is possibly the same as V.C. I, are dated in 1209 and 1213 A.D. V.C. II on the other hand, the author of the *GK.* cannot be

1. 117 of 1934–35.

2. Pp. 417–8, 430. (Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society.) Vol. XXIX (1938–39), Soma Sundara Desigar.

3. 24b of 1903; published in *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 296.

assigned to a period earlier than 1230 A.D. owing to the historical incidents mentioned in our prose work. The Śrīraṅgaṁ records referring to Śokka Villi Bhaṭṭa, the positive evidences for whose identification with V.C. II have been set forth already, are dated in 1269 A.D. The known dates of the Bāṇa chief namely 1181–1213 A.D., do not make possible the consideration of V.C. II also as the panegyrist of the above Bāṇa patron. The only argument that may correlate the above two persons is the title Kavirājarāja that is given to the composer, in two of the Cakravarttin records[1] of the Bāṇa chief, and in the colophon[2] to the *GK.* of V.C. II. But Kavirāja and Kavicakravarttin are common titles met with frequently, and all the three V.C.s are known by the above titles. In a similar manner 'kavirājarāja' also may have been the titles of any of the V.C.s.

Karpaga Villi or V.Ç. I is known from the Tiruveḷḷaṟai records as staying at Ālaṁbākkam, near Lalgudi in Trichy. The Cakravarttin inscriptions on the Bāṇa chief are found in Trichy itself and in South Arcot and North Arcot districts, which represent the major portion of Magadhaimaṇḍalam, under the jurisdiction of the Bāṇas or Maghadas. Over and above the fact of the contiguity between the Magadhaimaṇḍalam and the place of V.C. I, there is the additional fact of Rājarājadevan Magadhaipperumāl being not only a powerful chief but also a generous patron and lover of men of letters, as is evident in many of his records. Moreover, like their eponymous ancestor Bāṇa,[3] these Bāṇa chiefs were staunch Śaivites. The

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1. Bānes'varaṁ prati kavirājarājena sakalavidyācakravartinā viricatāni . . . .

(371 of 1925 and 117 of 1934–35)

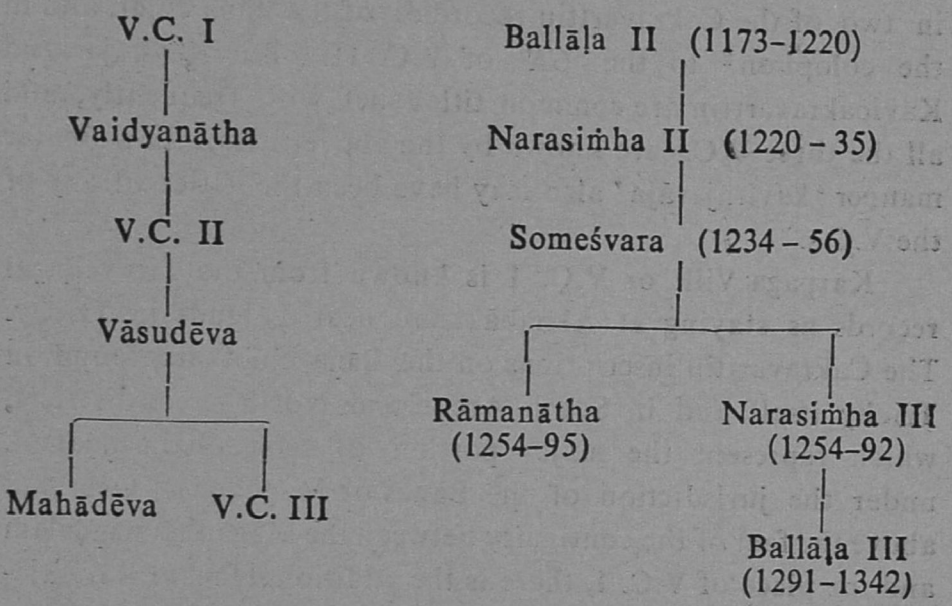
2. kavirājarājābhinavabhaṭṭabāṇa . . . . .

3. In one of the panegyrical verses on the Bāṇa-chief, V.C. himself, refers to their ancestor, Bāṇāsura.

jalandharaṁ bahubalābhigṛhya kārāgṛhastharn vidadhe sa Bāṇaḥ,
s'āstīva sarvānmagadhāparādhāda(na)dyāpi yacchṛṅkhiajo ninādaḥ.

gifts at Tiṭṭaguḍi and Tiruvaṇṇāmalai of Rājarājadeva Magadhaipperumāl with the title Ponparappinān reveal his Śaivite disposition. This was probably another factor that connected V.C. I with the Bāṇa court.

The picture presented of the V.C.s in the above source material may now be viewed in a retrospect. That there was more than one poet of the above title has been pointed out at the outset. The following synchornistic table gives the families of V.C. and their patrons, the Ballāla kings.



The results of the collation of the literary and epigraphical material, stated in brief, are :

1. There are evidences to consider the identity of Karpaga Villi of the Tiruveḷḷaṟai records in which he refers to himself as Dhanvin, with V.C. I. It then follows that V.C. I. was living in Lalgudi in Trichy and was also called Dhanvin. The published commentary *Dīpa* on *Drāhyāyaṇa Śrauta Sūtra* by Dhanvin is possibly a work of V.C. I. and as stated in the *Dīpa*, its author belonged to the Kāśyapa gotra. Not only does the *Rukmiṇīkalyāṇa* describe the V.C.s as vaidikas and performers of sacrifices but the Tiruveḷḷaṟai inscriptions of V.C. I also mention him as a

performer of Vājapeya sacrifice. V.C. I is also the author of panegyrical verses on the Bāṇa chief Rājarāja-devan Ponparappinān Magadhaipperumāl.

2. There are evidences to take the identity of Śokka Villi of the Śrīraṅgaṁ records with V.C. II, author of the *GK.*
3. Dhanvin, the Sanskrit eqivalent of the Tamil 'Villi', could refer to V.C. II also.
4. V.C. III is the author of the *Rukmiṇīkalyāṇa*, commentaries on the *Kāvyaprakāśa* and the *Alaṁkāra-sarvasva*, the *Prayogadīpikā* and other literary works, as also of an inscription on Ballāla III found at Kāñcī.

THE KANNADA LITERATURE UNDER THE HOYSALAS

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A STUDENT OF KANNADA literature is obliged to divide the vast material before him into several divisions for a systematic study. The scholars have suggested many ways. Generally, it is customary to divide according to religions which have played a prominent part in the shaping of this literature. Since the development has also taken place through various metres at different periods, it is possible to divide according to the forms followed by poets. Sometimes, stress is laid upon the main sources of inspiration in different ages such as valour, devotion or universal outlook which characterise the main trends. It is also observed that some prefer to divide according to the major poets who have influenced the growth of literature from time to time. In all these methods certain amount of overlapping is inevitable. Hence, it is found suitable to divide this rich treasure either according to the major dynasties who ruled the country or according to the different centuries. As we know, the classical literature in Kannada was mostly patronised by the kings or by their subordinates; and a systematic study with reference to different dynasties will be beneficial. It will enable us to understand the relationship between the literature and the political conditions of the time.

Before the period of the Hoysaḷas, Gangas, Rāśtrakūtas, and Chāḷukyas have a good record of their patronage to Kannada literature. Eminent poets like Pampa, Ponna and Ranna have not only paid glorious tributes to their patrons but have also immortalised them by comparing with the main characters of their works. An attempt is made here to show how far this patronage continued during the period of the Hoysaḷas and how the spirit of the time was gradually changing the course of literature. One or two scholars have already

undertaken this task and they have put forth their valuable opinions.[1] I observe, they have included in their survey the whole of Kannada literature which flourished both under the reign of Hoysaḷas and other contemporary dynasties like Chālukyas and Kālāchūryas. I think this is justifiable when we consider the whole period spreading over different centuries as a single unit irrespective of dynasties. Therefore, I have limited myself to the Hoysaḷas and the territory governed by them. However, it is immaterial to me whether a poet is connected with the Royal court or not. Since the Kannada inscriptions of this period are equally praiseworthy from the literary point of view, I have referred to a few of them very briefly.

Until the days of Ballāḷa I (A.D. 1100–1106) no mention has been made of any Kannada poet who may be assigned to this regime by the scholars of Kannada literature. It is at this time Nāgacandra, known also as Abhinavapampa, flourished in Karnāṭaka. His two works, "Rāmacandracarita Purāṇa" and "Mallināthapurāṇa" written in campu style are great contributions to the 11th century Kannada literature which is generally considered to be not very encouraging. It is often taken for granted that this poet was in the court of Ballāḷa I. While introducing this poet, Sri R. Narasimhachar points out with some reservation that this poet might have been in the court of Ballāḷa I, as there is story narrated by Devacandra in his "Rajavali Kathe" that there was a discourse between Kanti, a poetess and the court poet Nāgacandra.[2] An available work called "Kanti-Hampana Samasyegalu" and the mention of Kanti by Bahubali in his "Nagakumara Carita" are quoted as further evidences to this belief. But Dr. A. Venkata Subbiah doubts the very existence of Kanti arguing that the statements

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1. Prof. S. S. Malwad: Kannada, Karnataka Through the Ages, 1968. pp. 465–471.
   Dr. B. S. Kulkarni: Nemichandra, pp. 18–25.
   Dr. M. V. Krishna Rao and Sri M. Kesavabhatta: Karnataka Itihasa Darshana, 1970, pp. 1150-1161.
2. Karnataka Kavicarite, Vol. I, 1961, p. 112.

of Dēvacandra and Bāhubali are fictitions and the term 'Kanti' (ke) is used in a general sense denoting a female Jaina desciple.[1] Dr. D. L. Narasimhachar refers to this in a *foot-note* in his scholarly introduction to "Pampa Ramayana Sangraha" while discussing about the place of the poet whether it is Vijapur in the North Karnataka or another place bearing the same name near Taḷkaḍ.[2] But he is also equally hesitant to admit that Nāgacandra was a court poet of Ballāḷa I. The students of Kannada literature are well aware of the fact how unreliable it is to draw conclusions on the statements of Dēvacandra, unless there are strong evidences to support them. Nowhere in his works has Nāgacandra made any reference to his so called patron. An inscription at Bijapur belonging to the reign of Chālukya Vikramāditya VI (A.D. 1076–1126) contains a few stanzas culled out from his "Pampa Ramayana" and it is even supposed that he may be the author of the inscription. Sri M. Govinda Pai points out[3] that there is a similarity between Vaisravaṇa, the hero of "Mallinātha Purāṇa" and Chālukya Vikramāditya (1076–1126), and between Śrīdhara, the son of Vaisravaṇa and Somēśwara III (A.D. 1126–1138), the son of Vikramāditya. Recently another inscription has come to light at Karnool Taluk belonging to the reign of Chālukya Somēśwara II, dated A.D. 1068 wherein the author's name is mentioned as 'Nāgacandra Kavīndra'.[4] If this refers to the poet in question, then his date also is likely to be altered. He has clearly stated that he built a Jinalaya of Mallinātha at Vijayapura.[5] (No earlier poets who have praised Nāgachandra have mentioned anything about his relationship with Ballāḷa I, or the incident of Kanti.) When we look at the inscriptions along with the suggestions putforth by Sri M. Govinda Pai, Nāgacandra seems to have

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1. Kelavu Kannaḍa Kavigaḷa Jeevana Kala Vicara, 1927, p. 258.
2. Pampa Ramayana Sangraha—Introduction, 1936, p. ix.
3. Quoted by Dr. D. L. Narasimhachar, *Ibid.*: pp. xv–xvi.
4. Karnataka Kavicarite, Vol. I, 1961, Appendix I, p. 5; A.R.J.E., 53–54, No. 50.
5. Mallinatha Puranam, xiv, 297.

more leanings towards the Chālukyas than the Hoysaḷas. Even granting that Kanti existed, giving credence to Bāhubali (A.D. 1560) and Dēvacandra (A.D. 1838), the meeting between Pampa and Kanti cannot be decided so easily, as the available work is a poor specimen from the literary point of view. Therefore, unless we are in a position to prove that Nāgacandra was obliged to leave his native place, probably Vijapur, in search of patronage under Ballāḷa I, as in the case of Ranna, this problem remains unsolved.

The period of Vishṇuvardhana (A.D. 1111 – 1141) is considered to be the glorious days of the Hoysaḷa dynasty. He is known for his valour. The Hoysaḷa kingdom extended upto Rameswaram in the South and to river Krishna in the North. He was able to put down his enemies on all sides with the help of his brave and faithful generals. It is at this time Śrī Rāmānujāchārya came to the Kannada country from the South and he was welcomed by the king. The historians have dwelt upon this event in great detail and it is generally accepted that Śrīvaiṣṇavism found a firm root in this region from this time onwards. Melkote became an important centre of Śrīvaiṣṇavism. Tonnur and Saligrama belonging to Mandya and Mysore districts respectively bear ample evidence of this great event. It is said that the influence of Śrīvaiṣṇavism was so great that even the king embraced this new religion and he assumed the name of Viṣṇuvardhana instead of Biṭṭidēva. He is even alleged to be hostile to Jainism from then onwards. But historians have ably pointed out, there is no evidence to prove that he encouraged Śrīvaiṣṇavism at the cost of other religions, since his patronage continued to them as before. As a matter of fact, many of his beloved ministers and generals were Jains. His love for religion has manifested itself in the monumental temples constructed all over the country. A new style in architecture, particularly noted for minute details in sculpture, came into vogue. But when we ponder over the field of literature in Kannada it is rather disappointing. The only author mentioned by Sri R. Narasimhachar is Rājāditya who has written a number of works on

mathematics.[1] But to our great surprise, Dr. A. Venkatasubbiah has been able to prove successfully that this author's date is later than A.D. 1193 corresponding to Ballāḷa II, as there is a reference to the famous Soratur war in his work "Vyavahara-ganita."[2] As a matter of fact, with the advent of Śrī Rāmānujāchārya and the royal patronage extended to him, Śrīvaiṣṇavism must have infused a new spirit among its followers. It was the right time for Kannada to imbibe the message of *bhakti* as conveyed by the revered Alwars and to enrich itself immensely. Perhaps the strict adherence to Tamil language might have prevented the followers of this religion to bring about this great change. However, it is worth pursuing whether this movement in Karnāṭaka at that period has been able to produce any great work either in Tamil or in Sanskrit under the leadership of Śrī Rāmānujāchārya.

By the time we come to Narasiṁha I (A.D. 1143–1173) great changes were taking place in the neighbourhood at Kalyāna and its surroundings. The Kālachūryas were powerful and North Karnāṭaka was under their rule. The well known renaissance of Veerasaivism was in full swing under the leadership of Basava. The rich contributions of *Vacanakaras* had awakened a new consciousness among the society and had also changed the course of Kannada literature. The Hoysaḷa territory could not remain aloof at this juncture. As pointed out in the Mysore Gazetteer, Saivism, in its different facets, was already prevalent here from a long time.[3] Now, the influence of this renaissance is felt all over and great events are recorded by the veerasaiva poets in their works. The name of Kereya Padmarasa stands foremost. It is said he was a minister of Narasiṁha Ballāḷa and a contemporary of Harihara and Raghavanka. Though the scholars generally agree that these three are contemporary, they are divided in their opinion about

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1. Karnataka Kavicarite, Vol. I, 1924, p. 122.
2. Kelavu Kannaḍa Kavigaḷa Jeevanakalavicara, pp. 12–14; Sri R. Narasimhachar accepts this and arrives at the same conclusion on further evidence (Karnataka Kavicarite, Vol. III, 1929, p. 376).
3. Mys. Gazett., Vol. II, Part II, 1930, pp. 1349–50.

the exact date. It ranges from A.D. 1150 to 1300. Admitting the tentative date assigned by Dr. D. L. Narasimhachar[1] as between A.D. 1141 and 1240, since this is based on the existence of Ekantada Ramayya (A.D. 1190) and Rachamalla II (A.D. 1184) we may proceed to enquire into the importance of these great figures. As per the story available in the works, Kereya Padmarasa is the oldest and Raghavanka is the youngest of the three. It is described that Kereya Padmarasa challenged a vaisnava by name Tribhuvanatata and converted him to veerasaivism in the court of Narasiṁha. Kereya Padmarasa was held in high esteem by his co-religionists. It is also learnt that the so called Tribhuvanatata, after his conversion, has written a number of ragales. Kereya Padmarasa was proficient both in Sanskrit and Kannada. His work " Deeksha Bodhe " is in Kannada, composed mostly in ragales. The other work " Sananda Caritre " is in Sanskrit and this is translated into Kannada in different Shatpadis by his own son Kumara Padmarasa. Harihara and Raghavanka are undoubtedly epoch-making poets. It is narrated that Harihara was in service in the court of Narasiṁha Ballāḷa and after resigning his post he went to Hampe to dedicate himself to the service of Virupaksha. He engaged himself in composing his great works about Siva and his devotees. Whatever may be the story about Harihara, while going through his " Pampa Sataka " it comes to our notice that he was once employed under a king and after giving up his post he was supremely happy. Besides, he has decried those poets who were in the habit of composing their works to eulogise their patrons who are nothing but petty mortals.[2]

1. Siddarama Caritra, 1941, Introduction, pp. xxi–xxii.
2. Pōgene Pōpa bārelavo bārene jeeya hasadavendu be-
ḷḷāgute barpa māṇelavo summanirendode summanirpa ma
ttāgale baggisal nadugi beeluva sēvipa kastavruttiyam
neegidenindu nimma dayeyim karuṇākara Hampeyaldanē

Manujara mele sowavara mele kanisttara mele padyamam
tanatanagindra candra ravi karṇa dadhici baleendranendu ta
nanawaratam pogaḷdu kedabedele mānava neenaharnis'am
nene pogalareisemma kadu sompina pempina Hampeyaldanam

(Pampa Satakam, Stanzas, 88, 82)

The story of Raghavanka who has to suffer humiliation by his own master Harihara for praising Harischandra, a king, clearly indicates that the mortals are no longer honoured in poetry. All these tend to show how the spirit of the time is changing the course of literature both in theme and form. Prominence to devotion and adaptation of simple style may be attributed to the new awakening brought about by the Veerasaiva *Vacana-karas*. Harihara's contribution to Kannada literature is unsurpassed. More than his *campu kavyas* and *satakas*, his *ragales* are large in number and varied in interest. They have stood the test of time and are literally unparalalled in excellence. His own disciple as well as his nephew Raghavanka is a master of shatpadi metre. His works bear ample testimony to his grip over this metre and his achievement as a great poet. "Harischandra Kavya",—though disliked by Harihara,—is his masterpiece which has a universal appeal. Among the rest "Siddarama Caritra" and "Somanatha Caritra" are praiseworthy. "Veeresha Carite" is noted for its rare variety of Shatpadi. The other two works "Harihara Mahatva" and "Sharaba Caritra" are not yet available. Anyhow, the period of Narasiṁha I or a little later extending to Ballāḷa II happens to be a beginning of a new era in Kannada literature. As suggested by Dr. D. L. Narasimhachar, all the three might have flourished till A.D. 1240 witnessing the rule of Ballāḷa II and Narasiṁha II. However, when we look at the episode of Kereya Padmarasa, it appears to reflect the contemporary religious movement of the veerasaivas. If we were able to say more about the contributions of his followers, this estimate would have been a little more valuable. There is ample scope for a student of history to find out the historical truth of these great events and throw more light on the social conditions of the day.

The regime of Ballāḷa II (A.D. 1173–1220) is undoubtedly the best and the longest of the Hoysaḷa dynasty. Just like his grand-father Vishṇuvardhana, he was a great warrior and by his prowess he established his kingdom on firm grounds. His territorial conquests were wide enough. He stemmed the tide

of his enemies on all sides. Added to this royal glory, he was a great patron of letters and art. One of the famous Kannada Kavichakravartis, the poet Janna was in his court. The poet who rose to eminence in the reign of Narasiṁha II was proud of being a general as well as a minister. He has clearly acknowledged his indebtedness to his patron for conferring the title of Kavichakravarti on him. He is proud of comparing himself to the other two Kavichakravartis, Ponna and Ranna who flourished before him. Even the works of Janna are fairly high in standard. The " Yasodhara Carite " is his masterpiece. It is pithy in style full of kandas and the subject of Ahimsa which it deals is very well depicted through an appealing story. The " Ananthanatha Purana " written later in the period of Narasiṁha II deals with the life of the 14th Tirthankara and it is noted for its terse style and the scholarship of the poet. However, Janna has won the admiration of the modern critics for his capacity to depict the different aspects of human love in these two works. A close study of the characters like Amrutamati of " Yasodhara Carita " and Candasasana of " Anantanatha Purana " reveals to us the oddities of human love. At times, he excels in graphic descriptions. The heart-rending scene of mari temple in " Yashodhara Carite " or the boldness of Simha-cooda and his death in " Ananthanatha Purana " are true to life. Granting his indebtedness to the original Sanskrit works, Janna is an adept in his art. The "Anubhava Mukura" is a short work on love itself. Added to these literary works, he has a number of inscriptions to his credit where we find his loyalty to the king in clear terms. In all, Janna has really earned a name in Kannada Literature.

This period is really fortunate enough to boast of other able poets patronised by the eminent officers of Ballāḷa II. Among them Nemicandra stands supreme. Formerly he was at the court of Laksmanaraja and wrote his famous work " Leelavati Prabandham ". The other work " Neminatha Purana " called also " Ardhanemi ", for being incomplete, was composed at the instance of Sejjvalla Padmanabha, who was in the service of Ballāḷa II. Nemicandra's work

"Leelavati" was considered as a great work of art during his time and by the successive old Kannada poets. It is based upon the Sanskrit work "Vasavadatta" by Subandhu. The poet upholds the greatness of human love in this popular work. To a modern mind, Nemicandra's descriptions of nature here and there may appeal a little. Though the other work is a purāṇa, very much stereotyped in theme, the poet's description of Trivikramavatara draws our attention and deserves our admiration. If we take the rich diction of Nemicandra into consideration, he can be easily classified among our great poets. One can imagine the importance of Janna and Nemicandra in those days when we hear the statement of Madhura (c. 1385), a later poet, "That Nemi and Janna are the landmarks of Kannada poetry" (Nēmi Jannamarirvare Karnatakakrutige Seemapurushar).

Rudrabhatta, the author of "Jagannatha Vijaya", a Brahmin poet, lived at this time. He received the patronage of Candramouli, who was a minister of Ballāḷa II. "Jagannatha Vijaya" is a campu kavya dealing with the divine life of Sri Krishna, as depicted in Vishnupurana. Rudrabhatta has the unique honour of being the earliest Brahmin poet who has composed a kavya in Kannada embodying a puranic theme. He has implicitly followed the style of early classical poets. His generous outlook is worth noticing when he pays his tributes to the old Jaina poets in the beginning. His devotion for Sri Krishna is great and his description of the Lord's childhood is absorbing. The incidents like Sisupala Vadha, Parijatapaharana are good. He is capable of good narration and, at times, his style is pleasing. Rudrabhatta is said to be the author of "Rasakalike", a work on poetics which is not yet discovered.

Rēcharasa, one of the ministers of Ballāḷa II, gave patronage to Achanna, a Jaina poet, who has written the "Vardhamana Purana". This is again a campu kavya which deals with the life of the 24th Teerthankara.

Among the ministers of Ballāḷa II, Polalva Daṇḍanātha deserves special mention. An inscription at Harihara (Dn. 25) gives us a beautiful account of his life. He is a Brahmin by

caste and it is said that he had written a shatpadi kavya called "Haricaritra". He is held in high esteem because he was responsible for the construction of Harihareswara temple at Harihara and Lakshmīnārāyana temple at Banavalli. He served both Ballāḷa II and his son Vīra Narasiṁha II. Mention is made of one Buciraja, in an inscription (Hassan 199), as an eminent poet in Kannada and Sanskrit. He is said to be a minister also. But details are wanting.

As pointed out early, Janna, the leading poet of this dynasty, composed his "Anantanatha Purana" in the days of Vīra Narasiṁha II (A.D. 1217–1235). He continued to serve the king in three-fold capacity, namely as a poet, a minister and a general. It is believed that Harihara, who might have served as a clerk either under Narasiṁha I or Ballāḷa II, wrote his great works after A.D. 1200, which coincides with the reign of Vīra Narasiṁha II.[1] Therefore, one can safely conclude that the eventful period of Kannada literature, in its new phase, continued in these days, but remaining far away from the Royal court. Ragale and Shatpadi attained perfection in the hands of master poets like Harihara and Raghavanka.

The period of Vīra Sōmēśwara (A.D. 1233–1254) is memorable, because it has to its credit two great works like "Suktisudharnava" by Mallikarjuna and "Sabdamanidarpana" by Kesiraja. "Suktisudharnava" is the first anthology in Kannada compiled by Mallikarjuna for the recreation of his patron Vīra Sōmēśwara. The compiler has arranged his matter according to the eighteen descriptions (Astadashavarnanegalu) prescribed to a *Mahā-kāvya*. He has collected examples from the works of the classical campu poets who lived before him. He has also taken illustrations from a few inscriptions. One can easily see the wide reading of the compiler as well as the capacity of the ancient Kannada poets for description in this rich anthology. Since the compiler has not mentioned the sources, many stanzas are still unidentified.

1. Sumanobana, the father of Janna, is also said to be in the court of Narasimha II as an officer. He is considered as a poet. The name of his work is not known (Karnataka Kavicarite, Vol. I, 1961, pp. 300–301).

However, "Suktisudharnava" serves as a source book to a student of Kannada literature while fixing the date of any poet. Mallikārjuna is fortunate enough to belong to a learned family of scholars. He happens to be the son-in-law of Sumanobana, who was also connected with the Hoysaḷa court. His brother-in-law was Janna. More than all, Kesiraja is his son, whose "Sabdamanidarpana" is an authoritative grammar for old Kannada even to this day. Kesiraja, who is noted for his pleasing and rare quotations in his grammar, must have been benefited immensely by the rich collection of material by his father. Practically our survey of Kannada literature under the Hoysaḷas comes to an end with this grammar, which is considered to be a landmark for old Kannada. It is learnt that Kesiraja had also written a number of independent works whose names alone are available to us now.

Lastly, it is true that a few authors are excluded in a survey of this kind for want of sufficient particulars. However, by inference, it may be possible to include Jagaddaḷa Somanatha, the author of "Karnataka Kalyana-karaka" and Kumudendu, the author of "Kumudendu Ramayana" under this dynasty.[1]

Some of the inscriptions belonging to the period of the Hoysaḷas are marked by their high literary quality. It is observed that with the development of Kannada literature, the inscriptions also improved both in style and content. Instead of remaining as a mere record of some event, the inscriptions were thought to be great monuments of kings' achievements, heroes' gallantry, memorable sacrifices and philanthrophic deeds. Hence, we find a number of poets engaged in writing the texts for these epigraphs. Janna's inscriptions of this period are well known. To quote a few more examples at random, an inscription at Yalagunda (E.C., Vol. V, Hn. 89, A.D. 1135) contains an eloquent prose in the beginning describ-

1. This is based upon the connection between Jagaddaḷa Somanatha and Kumudendu with Sumanobana and Maghanandisiddhanta respectively suggested by Sri R. Narasimhachar (Karnataka Kavicarite, Vol. I, 1961, pp. 302 and 444).

ing the attainments of Viṣṇu-vardhana. It can be easily compared with the best prose of any campu kavya. The Kandas and Vrittas occuring in an inscription at Banavara (E.C., Vol. V, Ak. 22, A.D. 1188) are immensely pleasing. After all, it is meant to praise the noble deeds of a merchant named Kammatada Catti Setti. But the composer Trivikrama has shown his skill in depicting the salient qualities of the above said merchant in pure and simple Kannada. The self-sacrifice of Kuvara Laksma and his followers is graphically described at Haḷebiḍ. The well known inscription which deals with the life of Polalva Dandanatha is significant. Boppana Pandita's "Gommata Stuti" at Sravanabelagola is poetry par excellence engraved on stone. One can see that a galaxy of inscriptional poets flourished at this period by just going through 'Karnataka Kavicarite' Part I by Sri R. Narasimhachar. To put it in a nut-shell, these epigraphs are as important as the literary works of those days. They provide us an insight into the cultural background and religious convictions and social customs of the people. Undoubtedly, they hold up the mirrior to the high ideals of life held by them.

If we just take a bird's eye-view of Kannada Literature under the Hoysaḷas, we observe, at the outset, that the poets are traditional both in theme and style. However, it is also noticeable that they have not hesitated to deviate from the rut whenever occasion permitted. Nemicandra's "Leelavati" is a good example for this. It is non-puranic in theme. Similarly, when we look at the simple style of Janna in his "Yasodhara Carite" there is just a sign of relaxation even in rigid campu style. Harihara and Raghavanka may be said to be the earliest poets of this period who have realised the spirit of the age and their independent outlook towards literature is highly commendable. While evaluating Nemicandra's "Leelavati", late Prof. D. K. Bheemasena Rao has raised an objection that he could have selected a heroic theme like Pampa or Ranna depicting the indomitable courage of the contemporary Hoysaḷa king.[1]

1. Hadimooraneya Satamanada Karnatakandhra Maharastra Sahityavalokana, 1942, pp. 45–46.

I would rather put this question to Janna who was the court poet of Ballāḷa II. This evidently proves that the practice of immortalising the kings as before was gradually on its decline.[1] When so much of zeal and progress were evinced by other poets, it is quite but natural that a Brahmin poet like Rudrabhatta came forward to contribute his mite towards his religion. The works of Rājāditya exhibit the love for sastras. The compilation of Mallikārjuna is almost an indirect survey of the ancient poets' works. His son Kesiraja's grammar acts as an indicator to know how Old Kannada was gradually yielding place to Middle Kannada.

In spite of the political unrest in the country, the Hoysaḷa kings have spared no efforts to encourage the different religions, art and literature. Their love for temples and fine architecture is foremost. Nevertheless, either the kings or, many a time, their subordinates did not lag behind to extend their patronage to the poets also.*

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1. Even in Andayya's " Kabbigara Kava " which may be cited as an exception to this, the comparison of Kava (Kama) to Kamadeva of Banavasi is implied but not explicit.

* (I am grateful to Sri H. G. Suryanarayana Rao, M.A., Professor of English for his valuable suggestions in preparing this paper.)

A SHORT NOTE ON THE NAME "MALLITAMMA", THE HOYSAḶA SCULPTOR

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MALLITAMMA AND MASANITAMMA are two of the famous sculptors who made some of the finest Hoysaḷa images. Some feel that these names end in *-amma*,[1] which meant 'Father' in old Kannada. If we accept this explanation, it becomes extremely difficult to explain the -t- portion of the name (Malli + t + amma). If the name is explained as having '*-tamma*', 'Younger Brother', at its end, we will be solving many problems. Structurally *Mallitamma* is similar to *Malliyaṇṇa* (Malli + aṇṇa), where '*-aṇṇa*' means 'an elder Brother'. It is a very well known fact that terms of relationships are being added to names for purposes of sex-differentiation on linguistic level. A short survey of such name-suffixes, if we could call them so, will reveal that the terms used as suffixes, are mostly restricted to immediate relationships as Grand-father, Grand-mother, Father, Mother etc.

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1. *amman* meant 'Father' in old Kannada, and this word occurs a name-suffix denoting masculine gender. See for Ex: Babeyamman (E.C., V. Ag. 27, 915 A.D.); Dōyilamman (E.C., II, 193, C. 950 A.D.); Gaṇaramman (E.I. XIII, P. 189 A.D.); Allamman (E.C., XI, Hk. 30, 964 A.D.) The last name is interesting, Allama, the famous Veerashaiva saint of the twelfth century, was named by his parents as '*Allama*' and not *Allamman*, simply because '*-amma*' had come to mean 'Mother' by that time. I have elsewhere shown, on inscriptional evidence, that the semantic shift of the word *amman* took place by 1100–1130 A.D. (Samshōdhana Taranga, Mysore, 1966, pp. 127–30). But *-ma*, the diminutive form of *amman*, 'Father', was retained in later names. For example Lakshmisha, the author of *Kannaḍa Jaimini Bhārata*, had a father by name Aṇṇama. This *-ma-* is still to be found in names like Kriṣṇamācārya (Kriṣṇa + mā + acārya).

Names ending in '*-aṇṇa*' were pretty common in earlier times and are still widely used throughout the Kannada area. But words ending in '*-tamma*' had a restricted distribution both from the point of view of time and area. A bunch of names ending in '*-tamma*' can be recovered from the inscriptions.

(1) Mallitamma and Masaṇitamma have made many images in the Keshava Temple at Somanathapura, which was built in 1268 A.D. They have inscribed their names on the pedastals of many images. The name of Mallitamma can be seen on the pedastals of many images in other temples also. For example, in the Lakshminarasimha temple at Nuggehalli (1249 A.D.) In many places, he has simply signed as "Malli," which again helps us to conclude that his name contains two morphemes, Malli-and-tamma.

Dr. Shadaksharappa Shettar has been kind enough to draw my attention to the occurrence of the name of Mallitamma in an inscription of Salagame,[1] of Hassan Taluk, which belongs to the period of Sri Vira Someshvara Deva who ruled between 1235 and 1253 A.D. which states that " Mallitamma wrote this (inscription)". The text is as follows "..... barada Mallitamma Śrī Pāncajanyapura Śrī Cenna Kēśava Śrī Cenna Kēśava". The earlier portion of this quotation is being translated as " Written by Mallitamma of Pāncajanyapura". It is possible to identify this Mallitamma with the sculptor Mallitamma. But the text does not allow us to conclude that Mallitamma belonged to Pāncajanyapura (the identification of which is not an easy task).

To sum up, we are not in a position to ascertain the birth place of Mallitamma. Still, it is possible to state, with an amount of certainty, the area Mallitamma hailed from. Before that, let us look at a few more names which end in '*-tamma*'.

(2) In an inscription belonging to Channarayapatna taluk, is mentioned the name of Cikkatamma, the son of Bammagauḍi.[2]

1. M.A.R. (1926), No. 46.
2. E.C., V, Channarayapatna 261, C. 1273 A.D.

(3) In an inscription belonging to K. R. Pet taluk is mentioned Bairitamma, whose younger brother was Kēśiyaṇṇa.[1]

(4) A person by name Māratamma is mentioned twice in inscriptions belonging to Arkalgud Taluk.[2]

(5) In two inscriptions belonging to Chikkamagalur Taluk, we get the names of Masaṇitamma[3] and Cikkatamma.[4] This Masaṇitamma (1140 A.D.), son of Hemmāḍigauḍa is evidently different from the sculptor Masaṇitamma of the 13th century.

(6) In Malavalli Taluk, we get the name of Rāyatamma.[5]

(7) In Mandya Taluk, a person by name 'Gauḍitamma' is mentioned[6] in an inscription.

(8) In Hoskote Taluk, of Bangalore district, is mentioned the name Cikkatamma.[7] It is pertinent to note the occurrence of the name of a village Kāḷitammanahaḷḷi in an inscription belonging to Bangalore taluk.[8]

A neat isogloss can be drawn covering the area of names ending in '-tamma'. This area roughly occupied the extreme south of Karnataka which include the present Bangalore, Mandya, Mysore, Hassan and Chikkamagalur districts. We can safely infer that Mallitamma and Masaṇitamma hailed from this part of Karnataka.

If the assumption that the sculptor Mallitamma and the scribe Mallitamma of Hassan Taluk are identical is true, we can, again, safely argue that Mallitamma hailed from the Hassan taluk. Because we have evidence to show that sculptors for making images were invited from distant places. But for inscribing on stone tablets, the local sculptors were usually employed.

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1. E.C., IV, Krishnarajapet 1, C. 1150 A.D.
2. E.C., V, Arakalgud 7 & 39, 1285 A.D.
3. E.C., VI, Chikkamagalur 4, 1140 A.D.
4. *Ibid.:* No. 17.
5. E.C., III, part I Malavalli 115 C. 1250 A.D.
6. *Ibid.:* Mandya 100, 1316 A.D.
7. E.C., IX, Hoskote 91.
8. *Ibid.:* Bangalore 24, 1342 A.D.

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The inscriptional evidence is strengthened by present day situation in Hassan and Heggadadevanakote taluks (I have not ascertained the situation from other areas in between these two places). '-tamma' ending names have disappeared from the names borne by Lingayats and Vokkaligas of the Heggadadevanakote taluk. Even when such names are given to children, the grown-ups prefer to attach other morphemes like '*-aṇṇa*, '*-gauḍa*' *and* '*ayya*'. Ex: *Hettanatammaṇṇa, Saṇṇatammēgauḍa, and Doḍḍatammayya.* A carpenter's name is *Karitamma;* but he prefers to have his name as *Tammaṇṇa.* But among the Harijans who are still uneducated, we do come across names like *Saṇṇatamma, Doḍḍatamma and Cikkatamma.*

The Harijans of Hassan taluk bear names like Saṇṇatamma, Puṭṭatamma, and Bukkatamma (or simply Bukka).

There is a village called *Māyitammanamuccuḍi* in Shikaripur taluk, Shimoga district. Nine inscriptions belonging to this village are published.[1] The earlier name was simply Muḷcuṇḍi and this is recorded in an inscription belonging to the seventh century. The name in later days was *Murcuṇḍi*, and after C. 1086 A.D. it was called *Muccuṇḍi (Mucuṇḍi).* The present name *Māyitammana-Muccuḍi* is later than the 14th century A.D. and this Māyitamma, after whom the village was renamed, was most probably a migrant from the southern region, probably from Hassan–Mandya–Bangalore area.

I mentioned in the beginning that terms of relationships were used as personal name endings or suffixes.

Below is given a list of such terms :

Masculine	*Feminine*
ajja (acca)	ajji (acci)[2]

1. E.C., VII, Sk. 272–80.

2. Names ending in '-acca' and '-acci' are found in inscriptions Ex: Rundivaccare (EC. II. 35. C. 800 A.D.); Kāḍacci (Ec. XI. Dg. 17, 889 A.D.) The name *Rundivaccara* is interesting. It ends in *-acca*-and-*ara* This *-ara* is to be found in many names during Rashtrakuta times. Ex: Gōyindara, Kannara. I have elsewhere shown that the final *-ara* is the. dimunitive form of *arasa* 'King' (Sams'ōdhana taranga, Vol. II. Bangalore, 1970. pp. 224–5). This might yet be another proof that the Rashtrakutas were Kannada speaking people.

Masculine	*Feminine*
tande	tāyi
amman	abbe
ayya	avve
appa	avva (amma)
aṇṇa	akka
tamma	—

The list is complete except *tangi*, for which we do not have names ending in–*tangi*. Also, we do not come across names which end in–*maga* 'son', *magaḷu* 'daughter'. I have a guess that the *-ga* element in pet names like Ariga (=Arikēsari), Gojjiga (=Gōvinda), Rāmuga (=Kumāra Rāma) and in innumerable names like Kettuga, Polluga, comes from *maga* meaning 'Son'. In south Canara district, certain communities have *gaṇḍsu* 'man' and *hengsu* 'woman' after their names and this device, again, is for sex-differentiation on Linguistic level.

SRĪ VAISHṆAVISM IN HOYSAḶA PERIOD

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THE RELIGIOUS HISTORY of India has been enriched by the contribution of the South. The South generally enjoyed more peaceful development than the North and therefore had the advantage of initiating religious movements and one such movement was the Vaishṇava movement which has had a continuous history from the beginning of the Christian era. In the Vaishṇavism of the South a distinction should be made between Āḻwārs and Āchāryas. The Āḻwars, 12 in number were primarily saints, divers into divinity. The Āchāryas were both philosophers and saints. To this class of the defenders of the Vaishṇava faith Rāmāṇuja belongs.

Rāmānuja's appearance in the 11th century is as significant "as the advent of the Buddha in the 6th century before Christ".[1] That century in the South of India was characterised by considerable religious ferment. The thinkers of the religious sects felt the need for formulating creed of their own, so as to be able to hold its own in the midst of disintegrating influences. It was under these circumstances that Rāmānujāchārya expounded the philosophy of Southern Vaishṇavism (Srīvaishṇavism) known as Viśiṣṭādvaita. Though there were Vaishṇāva teachers before him such as Nāthamuni and Āḻavandar, the credit for consolidating and simplifying the system goes to Rāmānuja.

South India during the days of Rāmānuja has had comparative peace. The power of the Chōḷas was on the increase as Rājarāja and Rajēndra raised it to heights unknown in Chōḷa history. In the extreme South, the Pandyas were the feudatories of the Chōḷas. Vikramāditya VI was ruling in Kalyāni and

1. S. K. Iyengar : Ancient India, p. 193.

Eastern Chālukyas were prominent in Vengi Country. The Hoysaḷas who figure so much in the life of Rāmānuja were not sovereign in their own land, but were feudatories of Chālukyas. The Chōḷa ruler at the time, when Rāmānuja was preaching his faith, was Kulōttunga II (1070–1118 A.D.). Most of the Chōḷas were Saivas, but they were tolerant of other religions as well, while some of them went to the extent of endowing Vishṇu Temples. The reign of Kulōttunga was a peaceful one. The Śaiva creed had reached its pre-eminent position. Kulōttunga was not particularly narrow-minded as he made a grant to the Baudha settlement at Nagapatam. And though he was the patron of Sēkkiḷār, the general body of Vaishṇavas were not ill-treated. The popular story of Rāmānuja's persecution by Kulōttunga seems to be devoid of any foundation. In the first place it is difficult to identify with precision, the Chōḷa ruler who persecuted Rāmānuja and his sect. Prof. K. A. N. Sastry[1] feels that the short lived Adhirājēndra was that unfortunate ruler who started the unhappy chapter in the religious history of South India which had so far enjoyed unity within the fold of Hinduism. The popular story says that Karikāla Chōḷa was an un-compromising Śaiva and that on the return to the Chōḷa country, after his signal success in the North, Rāmānuja was asked in common with other brahmins to subscribe to a declaration of faith in Siva. To escape persecution, he fled, it is said to the Hoysaḷa kingdom in Mysore. Tamil tradition speaks of the blinding of Kūrēsa and the old preceptor of Rāmānuja himself. The fact that Rāmānuja's active work at Srirangam must have attracted attention of the ruler, does not support the theory of persecution. Firstly, there is nothing on record in any inscriptions of the entire period of seventy five years to substantiate the story. Secondly, there is no hint in any of the thousands of inscriptions known to the imperial Chōḷas that they were intolerant of other faiths. On the other hand, they uniformly patronised Buddhism, Jainism, Saivism and Vaishṇavism. Hence the story of Chōḷas

1. K. A. Nilakantasastri: *Cholas*, Vol. II, pp. 474–5.

persecution of Rāmānuja should be discredited. It is however, true that Rāmānuja crossed the Chōḷa boundary and entered the Hoysaḷa country during the days of Kulōttunga. It is suggested that this tour of Rāmānuja was in continuation and completion of his work, that he had undertaken in the cause of Vaishṇavism. To him, political frontiers had no meaning since there was much in common among the creeds of Southern India.

The River Kāvērī must have lured him to undertake the journey. Moreover, the presence of Srivaishṇavas in the Hoysaḷa country may have the reason for his visit. That Vaishṇavism was flourishing in the Hoysaḷa country in Pre-Rāmānuja days, and as early as 1090 A.D. is attested by the inscriptional evidence. There is the mention of grants being given to Vinnukār Āḷvār in inscriptions.[1] There was therefore a favourable atmosphere when Rāmānuja visited the Hoysaḷa country.

The reign of Vishṇuvardhana (1104–1141) marked the advent of Rāmānuja to the Kannada country. According to the chronology based on the traditional account of Rāmānuja's life, he came to Mysore in 1096 A.D., met Vishṇuvardhana, and installed the image of Tirunārāyana at Melkote in 1100 A.D. Rāmānuja lived in the Hoysaḷa country for a period of 20 years and thereafter he returned to Srirangam.

The route of the historic journey of Rāmānuja may be traced. He came up along the Kāvērī as far as Satyamangalam, then he took a chord line and reached Kāvērī again at Rāmanathapura about forty miles west of Mysore. Among the places he visited are said to be Vahni Pushkarni (now known Mirlē) and Sāligrāma, two villages 30 miles west of Mysore. The next place he visited was Tonnur or Tondanūr about 16 miles north of Mysore city on the way to Melkote (Yādavagiri). Tonnur seems to have been a capital outpost of the Hoysaḷa kings. It was at Tonnur that he met Vitthala Dēvāraja or Biṭṭidēva and according to Vaishṇava account is said to have

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1. E.C., Vol. III, Tn. 24, 33 and 35.

cured the daughter of the king of the mental malady and this pleased both the king and queen. After a close acquaintance with Rāmānuja, Biṭṭidēva gave up his Jaina faith and became his disciple with the new name of Vishṇuvardhana. According to another version, Rāmānuja defeated Jains in a great controversy and despoiled their landgrants and destroyed their temples and with their material built the Motitalab or the Lake of Pearls.[1] The Jaina account (Sravanabeḷagoḷa Sthaḷapurāna) says, that the king was influenced by Rāmānuja, through one of his queens to become a Vaishṇava. He resisted the temptation for a long time; but when owing to the loss of a finger of his right hand in war, Jain ascetics declined to dine with him, he thenceforth became a Vaishṇava. A Sravanabeḷagola Sthaḷapurāna says, "in the śaka year 1039 Durmuki (1117 A.D.) Bettavardhana, influenced by the teachings of Rāmānujacharya received tapta-mudra and became a convert to the Vaishṇava faith. He then changed his name to Vishṇuvardhana". The Vaishṇava account, also speaks of the conversion of Biṭṭidēva to Srivaishṇavism and changing his name to Vishṇuvardhana.

There are two debatable points in these versions. The first one is the conversion of Biṭṭidēva to Srivaishṇavism and he assuming the name of Vishṇuvardhana. The second one is the story of Jain persecution.

As regards conversion of Biṭṭidēva, there is no clear proof in recorded history. No inscription of Vishṇuvardhana or of later Hoysaḷas refers to this important event of his reign. It is not unlikely that the support and sympathy of Vishṇuvardhana to the cause of Srivaishṇavism was interpreted that way. It might be that this might have given rise to a floating tradition about his conversion which was rendered credible by frequent references to him in inscriptions as Vishṇuvardhana and as a devotee of Vishṇu and by his munificence in building Vishṇu

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1. Quoted, Mysore Gazetteer, Vol. II, Part II.
2. Karnataka Through the Ages, p. 421.

temples for their maintenance.[1] The change of name from Biṭṭidēva to Vishṇuvardhana after conversion is not correct. For an inscription dated 1098 A.D. in Grantha and Tamil characters records the grant of certain lands to the gods Rama and Lakshmana by the *Mahājanas* of the illustrious Konku-Konda Sri-Vishṇuvardhana-Posaḷa-Dēva.[2] This is the earliest record yet found of the time of Vishṇuvardhana and it speaks of an *Agrahāra* founded by or named after Vishṇuvardhana. Derrett says that Betti is a pet name for Vishṇu.[3] Dr. Chidananda Murthy points out that Betti is the Tadbhava of Vishṇu.[4]

It is evident therefore that Biṭṭidēva was also known as Vishṇuvardhana even before he met Rāmānuja. In the light of the points discussed above it may be suggested that the conversion of Vishṇuvardhana is beside the main theme. Rāmānuja claims no royal patronage though he was acclaimed by Vishṇuvardhana. It is possible that Vishṇuvardhana was charmed by the personality of Rāmānuja and drawn towards Srivaishṇavism. Without any formal conversion, Vishṇuvardhana must have evinced keen interest in the construction of Vishṇu temples, in the grants he made to Vaishṇava *Mutts* and in providing for the maintenance of the temples. This is proved by the innumerable inscriptions of Vishṇuvardhana.[5]

The second point of persecution of Jainas by Vishṇuvardhana after he became interested in Srivaishṇavism is also untenable. For the story of persecution is based on Jaina traditions, Jaina inscriptions and Vaishṇava accounts.[6] It is stated in the Vaishṇava accounts that as Rāmānuja expounded the tenets of Vaishṇava religion some Jaina Pundits resorted to booing and cat calls, but they were turned out of the assembly hall at the command of Vittaladēva. The oil-mill incident,

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1. Sri Ramakrishnananda: Life of Sri Ramanuja, pp. 215–216.
2. M.A.R., 1944.
3. The Hoysaḷas, p. 222.
4. Kannada Sasanagala Samskritika Adyayana, p. 164.
5. E.C., Vol. V, Bl. 3, 58, 71.
6. Sri Ramakrishnananda: Life of Ramanuja, p. 215.

the refusal of the Jaina ascetics to dine with Vishṇuvardhana and the failure of the Jaina incantations to cure Vishṇuvardhana's daughter and the story of the mutilation of the great image of Gommateswara are the instances quoted in support of the persecution of the Jainas by Vishṇuvardhana and Rāmānuja. There is no truth in these highly coloured stories. For, Vishṇuvardhana was an eminently sensible man and though he was drawn towards Srivaishṇavism was tolerant of other faiths. Inscriptional evidence makes it clear that his queen Shāntaladēvi continued to be a Jain till the day of her death. His daughter Hariāle was Jain; more than this his right hand man in the work of founding the kingdom, the general Gangarāja in whose memory was built Drohagharatta Jinalaya at Haḷebid[1] was also a Jain of eminence. The story of the miracle said to be performed by Rāmānuja is in the words of Prof. S. K. Iyengar[2] "nothing more nor less than a boastful assertion of triumphant success on the part of the Vaishṇavas of a succeeding generation!"

The reign of Vishṇuvardhana constitutes an important chapter in the History of Srivaishṇavism. The Srivaishṇava community owes a deep debt of gratitude to Mysore and to Hoysaḷa family for the great and timely help which they rendered for the cause of Srivaishṇava religion. For Rāmānuja, to preach his faith, it was most congenial atmosphere. The Hoysaḷa ruler was intensely interested in it, the people were receptive and the spirit of tolerance that pervaded the country encouraged him to propound his principles. What he taught was not difficult to follow. Besides Bhakti, he emphasised *prapatti* (self-surrender) to God resorting to Him as the sole refuge. It was the most effective means of release. It was open to all without any distinction. What one had to do was to follow the will of God, to believe that He will save, to seek help from Him and to yield up one's spirit to Him and to be meek. The simple concepts of *bhakti* and *prapatti* were in

1. E.C., Vol. V, Bl. 124.
2. Ancient India, p. 259.

contrast to stern principles of Jainism. Moreover internal decay had set in and that Jainism was on decline is evident from the inscriptions which speaks moral laxity among Jain priests.[1]

The personal contact with Vishṇuvardhana, his leaning towards Srivaishṇavism, the places made holy by the visit of Rāmānuja and the temples that were constructed during that period and the innumerable grants made to Vaishṇava *muths* and for their maintenance both by the rulers, the officers and the public, all these can be substanciated with reference to the inscriptions of Vishṇuvardhana's time. The sustained interest in Srivaishṇavism shown by his successors can also be gleaned from the inscriptions.

That Rāmānuja stayed at Tondānur (Tonnur, then the capital of Hoysaḷa kingdom) and at Melkote and that he visited Sāligrāma may be inferred from inscriptions. The inscription in the Lakshmīnārāyanaswāmi temple at Tonnur contains a grant to a *maṭha* of Rāmānuja. Its alternative name was Yādavapura of Yādava nārāyana chaturvēdi-mangalam.[2] Another undated inscription[3] of Vishṇuvardhana found on a pillar of the *mantapa* in front of the Lakshmīdēvi shrine in the Lakshmīnārāyanaswamy temple at Tonnur states that the *mantapa* was built under the orders of Vishṇuvardhana by his *mahapradhāna* Surigeya Nāgayya.

An inscription[5] in the Navaranga of the Narayanaswami temple at Melkote records that Surigeya Nagidevanna, the buidler of the *mantapa* at Tonnur made a grant for the God. This confirms to some extent the traditional accounts given in Guruparampara-Prabhava[4] which says that Vishṇuvardhana helped Rāmānuja in the constrution of the temple at Melkote, unearthing the structure of an old temple which had buried

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1. E.C., IV, Ng. 19.
2. E.C., III, Sr. 64.
3. E.C., XIV.
4. Ed. Ananthacharya : guru paramparaprabhava, pp. 81–83.

under the earth.[1] The *Yadugiri Mahatmya* refers to 'Rāmānuja as bringing back to Melkote the *Utsava Vigraha* of Ramapriya. The story of Bibinachiyar is refered to in the biography of Rāmānuja is later narrated in a Kannada poem 'Varanandi-kalyana.'[2] The earliest direct epigraphical mention, we have of Rāmānuja's visit to Yadāvagiri (Melkote) is contained in the Tondanur copper plates dated 1722 A.D. It is stated in the inscription[3] that Yadavagiri had been the residence of Yatirāja (Rāmānuja). An inscription[4] of Vishṇuvardhana states he set up a temple at Melkote. Rāmānuja made it the centre of Srivaishṇavism in the Hoysaḷa country. In this connection mention may be made of the custom throwing open the temples to Harijans arranged by Rāmānuja for three days during the festival of Vairamudi.

Sāligrāma, 30 miles to the West of Mysore is another place associated with Rāmānuja. *Guruparamparai* (page 80) states that Rāmānuja stayed at Singar Koil which he renamed as Sālagrāma. It is customary for Srivaishṇavas to worship the stone Symbol of Vishṇu-Saligrama. A much wornout inscription[5] found on the door lintel of the Sripada Tirtha pond in the Rāmānujacharya temple at Saligrāma is of great interest. There is a Sanskrit verse in his praise " ರಾಮಾನುಜಾಯನಮಃ "

It records .... ಶ್ರೀ ಶ್ರೀ ಸಾಲಿಗಾವೆಯ ಶ್ರೀವೈಷ್ಣವರಿಂಗೆ ಶ್ರೀರಂಗಮಟ
ದಲ್ಲಿ ಎಂಬಾರುಂ ಅಳನಂ ಅಚಾನಂ ಶ್ರಿಪ್ರತಾಪ ....
ರು .... ವಣ .... ಹದಾ .... ಗೈಯಿಹಲೆಂದು ತಮತಿರುಮಾಳ್
ಅ ಮೂರಿಂಗೆ ಬರಲು ನವ್ಯಪ್ರಸಾದ ..

It records in Kannada, that Embār, Andān and Achān of the *matha* at Srirangam granted some privileges to the Srivaishṇavas of Saligave. The persons named were the immediate disciples of Rāmānujacharya, the first two being his close relatives. This grant shows their personal interest and

1. M.A.R., 1912, Para 84.
2. Karnataka Through the Ages, p. 422.
3. E.C., Sr. 64.
4. E.C., Vol. V, Bl. 58.
5. E.C., Vol. 14, Yd. 90. Supplimentary Inscription Mysore & Mandya District.

Rāmānuja's own personal interest in them. This record seems to confirm in a way the traditional account of Rāmānuja's visit to Sāligrāma.

Rāmānuja must have met Vishṇuvardhana during the last years of 11th century while Vishṇuvardhana was active in the Gangavāḍi frontier. The personal leanings of Vishṇuvardhana towards Srivaishṇavism can be inferred from the detailed and glowing account given of his conquest and the consecration of temple recorded in the Bēlūr inscription[1] dated 1117 A.D. It says that he set with faith the God Vijayanārāyana called Chennakeshava and provided for the daily ceremonies, decorations and the offerings at the three times to the god's Vijayanārāyana, Chennakēśhava and Lakshmīnārāyana and for the livelihood of the Srivaishṇava brahmins, of the dancing girls, the putters on the vestmānts, the learned men, the garland makers, the lighters of lamps. A committee of 88 brahmins for the administration of the temple was also set up.[2] Together with the erection of the Vijayanārāyana God at Bēlūr, he had set up four others at Talakād, Melkote, Tonnūr and Gadag.[3] A Sravanabeḷagoḷa Staḷāpurana[4] states that Vishṇuvardhana consecrated five temples namely Chenniganārāyana at Bēlūr, Keerthinārāyana at Taḷkaḍ, Vijayanārāyana at Tondanūr and at Haradanahalli. He built a tank at Tonnūr and called it Tirumalasagara. C. Hayavadana Rao says[5] that the pond (Moti Talab) is said to have been constructed by Rāmānujāchārya who had taken up his abode at the neighbouring town of Melkote.

Vishṇuvardhana made copious grants to the Vaishṇava temples and provided generously for their maintenance. An inscription[6] of his speaks of the grant of Nittur and Tagarenad

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1. E.C., Vol. V, Bl. 58.
2. Narasimachar : Keshava Temple at Belur, p. 18.
3. I.A., Vol. II, page 133.
4. Quoted in I.A., Vol. II, May 1873.
5. Mysore Gazetteer, Vol. II, page 274.
6. E.C., Vol. V. Bl. 71.

to 120 bhattars and 32 Srivaishṇavas. Other inscriptions[1] show his devotion to Srivaishṇavism. His titles also show his affinity to Srivaishṇavism. He is described as Vīranārāyana and Srimathu Keshavadeva Pādāradhaka[2] and as Mukunda Padāravindavandana vinoda.[3]

Vishṇuvardhana's adherance to Srivaishṇavism did not come in the way of his patronage of other religions. This Constantine of Vaishṇavism followed the traditional policy of religious toleration. This policy is amply demonstrated by the grants he made to Jaina *basadis* and Saiva institutions. Almost all his feudatories and generals such as Gangarāja, Mariyane, Bharata, Punisamaya, and Boppana, even his crowned queen Śāntaladēvi were ardent Jains. In 1128 A.D. he gave a grant to a Saiva temple at Yadavapura (Melkote).[4] In 1140, he made a grant to a Saiva temple in memory of his father.[5] An inscription of 1135 speaks of Vishṇuvardhana as receiver of a boon from Jain Goddess Vasanthika as well as a worshipper of the feet of Mukunda.[6] An important inscription of 1133[7] which speaks of the erection of Drohagharatta Jinalaya at Haḷebiḍ, in memory of his ablest Jaina general Gangaraja, Vishṇuvardhana says "By the merit of the consecration of this God, I have obtained both" Vijayotsavamum-Kumara Janmotsavamum and have been filled with joy. He therefore gave to the God "Srivijayaparsva devar emba pesarumum kumarange Sri Vijayanarasimha devar emba pesarumum ittu . . ." The former showed his deference to Jainism and the later his adherence to the new creed Srivaishṇavism. On that occasion he received the consecreted food from Parsvanatha Basadi. In another inscription dated 1121[8] we are

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1. E.C., Vol. V, Bl. 358, Sb. 123, 240.
2. E.C., Vol. V, Sb. 143.
3. E.C., Vol. V, 958, 71.
4. E.C., Vol. III, My. 16.
5. E.C., Vol. IX, Nl. 84.
6. E.C., Vol. IV, Ng (3).
7. E.C., Vol. V, 124.
8. E.C., Vol. V, Bl. 147.

told that Ketamaḷḷa erected a Saiva temple in Dorasamudra giving it after the patron of his family, the name of Vishṇuvardhana Poysaḷeśvara. Thus we see that his patronage was equally distributed to Jaina, Saiva and Srivaishṇava institutions.

This policy of patronising all the creeds was followed by the successors of Vishṇuvardhana. His son and successor Narasiṁha I paid homage to the Gommata at Sravanabeḷagoḷa while returning from the North.[1] He is described as the "Protector of the four creeds".[2] His leanings were towards Srivaishṇavism. In 1169, he paid a visit to the God Vīranārāyana of Bēlūr and performed the *pavitraropana* (putting a silk garland round the god's neck). In 1162, he combined the two villages Togaravadi and Bhuvanahalli into an *agrahāra* and named it Dharmapura and granted it for the maintenance of the Kēśava temple in the presence of his councillors.[3]

There was perfect harmony during the time of Ballāḷa II. Srivaishṇavism continued to flourish. An inscription[4] tells us that a grant made to a *mantapa* the Lakshminārāyana temple at Tonnūr by Irama-Piran. Though Ballāḷa was a Saiva his generosity towards Srivaishṇavas is shown through many of his grants. In 1175 he had a pond made for Keertinārāyana at Bēlūr, and a Kottara for God Veeranārāyāna at Bēlūr for cows and brahmins.[5] He made grants for the improvement of the Chennakeshava temple.[6]

During the reign of Narasiṁha II there was the same sustained patronage of Srivaishṇavism. His leanings towards Srivaishṇavism is evident from the records of his time. An inscription of 1223 speaks of grants made to Himagiri Lakshminarasiṁha at Vishṇusamudra.[7] Another inscription of C 1224[8]

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1. E.C., Vol. II, 345 (137).
2. E.C., 11, Tk. 38.
3. E.C., 4, Hs. 137.
4. E.C., Vol. XIV, Sr. 226.
5. E.C., Vol. V, Bl. 2.
6. RICE, Mys. Inscriptions, p 267.
7. E.C., IV, Kd. 88.
8. E.C., XIV, Ng. 140.

belonging to his reign refers to one feudatory Kachideva having set three gods at Bellur viz., Sindesvara, Lakshminarayana and Gopala and made grants to them. Among the other Hoysaḷa rulers, who patronised Srivaishṇavism mention must be made of Ballāḷa III in whose reign many grants were given to Srivaishṇava temples. An inscription dated 1310[1] speaks of a grant of a village to Srivaishṇavas of Terakambi by Immade Rauvttarya of Svastipura. Another dated 1312[2] speaks of a grant for a stone *mantapa* at Melkote by Mādhava daṇṇayaka. Another inscription[3] of his reign speaks of a grant to the Srinārāyana temple at Melkote by some one of Nagamangala.

The following conclusions can be drawn from a survey of Srivaishṇavism during the Hoysaḷas.

1. That Vaishṇavism of Alvars was prevailing in Hoysaḷa country before advent of Rāmānuja.

2. The accession of Vishṇuvardhana and the advent of Rāmānuja to the Hoysaḷa country marked a new and an important chapter in the History of Srivaishṇavism. The personal interest of the ruler in the religion was responsible for its popularity during this period.

3. This popularity of Srivaishṇavism was not in any way prejudicial to existing faiths in the land. That harmony existed among all the faiths in the land, and that the ruling monarchs supported their cause is proved by a number of inscriptions of the Hoysaḷa times.

4. Finally Srivaishṇavism gave an added impetus to the building activity, particularly for the construction of magnificent temples noted for their architectural and sculptural beauty which stand to this day as a unique testimony of their greatness.

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1. *Iibd.* : Gu. 131.
2. *Ibid.* : Sr. 281.
3. *Ibid.* : Sr. 283.

JAINISM UNDER THE HOYSAḶAS

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JAINISM HAS ENRICHED the culture of the Kannada country in more ways than one. Karnāṭaka was the 'cradle of its childhood' and it was here it attained its stature and prominence, particularly under the enlightened patronage of such dynasties as the Gaṅgas, the Western Chālukyas, the Rāshṭrakūtas and the Kalachūris. It is natural to expect that 'a creed which held sway over the lives of princes and peasants alike' should have deeply influenced the culture of the land. In literature and art, as in other spheres of life, in Karnāṭaka, Jainism has left its deep impress. In fact, Kannada literature counts striking contributions from Jaina authors. Likewise, the contributions of the Jainas to Karnāṭaka art and architecture are by no means insignificant. As Professor S. R. Sharma points out, "The most distinctive contribution of Jainism to Art in Karnāṭaka was in the realm of iconography. As with everything else in life, the Jainas appear to have carried their spirit of acute analysis and ascetism into the sphere of art and architecture as well."[1] It is not surprising therefore, if Jainism, with this proud record, should have found ready patronage under the Hoysaḷas.

The very foundation of the Hoysaḷa kingdom is attributed to the Jaina teacher who, according to an inscription at Sorab was Sudatta,[2] while another inscription gives his as Vardhamāna Munīndra.[3] According to inscriptions the progenitor of the Hoysaḷa dynasty was Saḷa, an eponymous hero, who was a devout Jaina. On a certain occasion, we are told, he went to worship at the temple of Vāsantikādēvi, his family deity, at

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1. Jainism and Karnātaka Culture, p. 102.
2. E.C., Vol. II, Sb. 128.
3. E.C., Vol. VIII, Nagar 46.

Sosavūr or Sasakapura. After worship, he came to his *guru* named above to receive instructions. While he was receiving instructions, a fierce tiger came out of the forest and flared at them with rage. At this the pre-eminent sage 'said with reference to the fierce tiger' Poy Saḷa (strike Saḷa); and from this circumstance he adopted the sage's words and his name, as also the tiger crest.[1] This story or a modified version of it is given in all the accounts of the origin of the Hoysaḷa dynasty. It would be evident from this account that the Jaina *guru* not only blessed the dynasty and must have also placed at their disposal the wealth of the Jaina Church. This also explains why that the early rulers of this dynasty steadfastly followed Jainism and actively patronised it, though it was not at the cost of the existing religions of the land. It is possible that the matrimonial alliance which the Hoysaḷas established with the Gangas, under whom Jainism attained its Golden Age, must have prompted the Hoysaḷas to extend their active patronage to the religion of Mahāvīra.[2]

Vinayāditya II was a great patron of Jainism. An inscription of 1131 A.D. informs us that Vinayāditya "Gladly made any number of tanks and temples, and any number of Jaina shrines, any number of *naḍus* and villages." It continues: "The pits dug for bricks became tanks, the great mountains quarried for stone became level with the ground, the roads by which the mortar carts passed became ravines;— thus did king Hoysaḷa cause Jaina temples to be erected."[3] The Mattavara record describes him as the builder of a Basti at the place for the convenience of the people and richly endowed it.[4]

Ereyanga, son of Vinayāditya II was also a devout Jaina. He made a grant of Rachanahalla in Belgola-12, in A.D. 1094 "to the celebrated Gopanandi Pandita Deva of the Konda Kundānvaya of the Srīmula Sangha and Devigaṇa ..... for

1. E.C., II, Sb. 132; E.C., VI; Cg. 20 and 137.
2. Kāma Hoysaḷa, son of Vinayāditya, is regarded as the son of Ganga Princess. *Cf.* E.C., VI, Introduction, p. 15; Mysore Gazetteer, p.1316.
3. E.C., II; Sb. 143.
4. Mysore Gazetteer; *Ibid.*: p. 1318.

the repairs of the Basadis of the Kabhappu Thīrtha of Beḷgoḷa for divine worship, for gifts of food, and for vessels and cloths."[1]

Ballāḷa I ruled only for a short period. He married the three daughters of Mariyane-Daṇḍanāyaka, a devout Jaina. Mariyane along with the merchants of Belegerepattana set up the Jain image in the Basadi at Hatna in Tiptur Taluk.

The reign of Biṭṭidēva or Vishṇuvardhana occupies an important place in the religious history of the Hoysaḷas. The period witnessed the rise of Srivaisṇavism as the prominent religion of the Land. As far as Jainism was concerned, his reign period saw the heyday of Jainism. His beloved queen Śāntalādēvi and his most prominent generals were Jainas and they actively supported the cause of Jainism. Śāntalādēvi is described as 'crest jewel of perfect faith in Jainism' and 'a rampart to the Jaina faith'. Her parents, Mārasinga and Machikabbe were ardent devotees of Jainism. Prabhāchandra Siddhāntadēva, disciple of Mēghachandra Trividyadēva of Pustaka gachcha of the Desiya Gaṇa of the Mūla sangha was the preceptor of Śāntalādēvi.[2] She made many grants to the Jainas. A record of 1123 A.D. states that she granted 'with exemptions from all imposts (the village) Mottenavile of Kolkaninādu to her preceptor. She caused Viḷasanakaṭṭa to be built as a tank and granted to the Savatigandha Hasti Basadi at Beḷgoḷa. She also obtained from Vishṇuvardhana Poysaḷadēva a garden of 50 *kolugas* of wet land in the middle plain below the Ganyasamudra, and granted the same to Savatigandha Basadi which she had caused to be erected.'[3] She founded the Jaina temple of Śāntīsvara Gandhavaraṇa at Sravana Beḷgoḷa. This Basti consists of a *Garbhagriha*, a *sukhanasi* and a *navagraha*. In the sanctum is set up the fine image of Śāntinātha, the 12th Thīrthankara, probably after whom she herself was named. On the pedastal appears

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1. E.C., V, Cp. 148.
2. E.C., II, Sb. 132 and 140.
3. E.C., II, 132 and 143.

the antelope, his lāñchana. It is flanked on both sides by 'chāmara bearers.' In the vestibule are kept the images of 'Kiṁpurusha' and 'Mahāmānasa', the Yakśa and the Yakśiṇi of the Jaina. The Garbhagriha is crowned by a beautiful brick tower. She richly endowed it and presented the same to her guru Prabhāchandra.' [1]

Vishṇuvardhana also extended the royal patronage to Jainism. Buchanan states that, like his ancestors Ballāḷarāya, (Vishṇuvardhana) was a worshipper of Jina, and adds that at his capital were seven hundred temples dedicated to that God.[2] According to tradition, Rāmānuja, in the course of his visit to Vaisṇavite shrine in the north and south India, visited Mysore, met Biṭṭidēva at Tonnur and converted him to Srivaisṇavism. After his conversion Bittidēva is said to have called himself Vishṇuvardhana. At Tonnur Rāmānuja defeated the Jains in a great controversy and despoiled their grants and destroyed their temples and with their materials built the Motitalab or the Lake of Pearls.[3]

This account receives further support in another story which tells us that after the conversion of Vishṇuvardhana, Rāmānuja mutilated the statue of Gommata so as to ruin it as an object of worship.[4]

It is difficult to believe that such things happened in an age of toleration. As regards the mutilation story the Editor of Epigraphica Carnataka writes: "No trace however, remains of such an injury, unless it be the fore finger of his (Gommata's) left hand, which is shorter than it should be, had a piece struck off below the first joint and was afterwards sculptured into a perfect finger again. This particular form of description should easily have suggested itself if it be true, as tradition has it, that the change of king's religion was in some degree brought about by the refusal of his Jaina guru to take

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1. O.J.M.S., Vol. 38, pp. 140–141.
2. Buchanan Travels II, Ch. VII, p. 80. *Cf.* S. R. Sharma, *Ibid.*: p. 40.
3. Mysore Gazetteer, *Ibid.*: p. 1326.
4. E.C. II, Introduction, p. 19.

food from him by reason of the mutilation in the shape of the loss of one of his fingers.[1]

Further, the above allegations are in direct contradiction to what we know reliably of the Hoysaḷa King Vishṇuvardhana. There is absolutely no evidence to show that he persecuted the Jainas after his conversion to Srīvaisṇavism. For, his beloved queen, Śāntalādēvi, continued to make grants to Jainas with his permission. Further, most of his prominent generals were Jainas in whom he reposed full confidence and who continued to make grants generously to Jainism. Foremost of his generals was Gangarāja, the conqueror of Talakad and a devout Jaina, who for his services to Jainism is placed next to Chāvundarāya. He achieved a great victory for Vishṇuvardhana against his war with Chālukya Vikramāditya VI. The king was pleased with the success he achieved and said: "I am pleased; ask for a boon." Then Gangarāja asked for and obtained from the generous king the village of Parama, which he granted to the Jaina temple erected by his mother and his wife, Pochala-Devi and Lakshmi respectively.[2] After his conquest of Taḷakaḍ and other Chōḷa territories, Gangarāja received again from Vishṇuvardhana the land of Govindavadi and he granted for the worship of Gommatadeva.[3] Further, he had an enclosure built round Gommatēsvara.[4] The land of the Gangas was filled with Jaina shrine all over, but were destroyed by the Chōḷas during their occupation. After conquering the Ganga country, Gangarāja restored all the Jaina temples. An inscription says: "Whatever else might be said the myriads of ruined Jaina Temples restored and built again, and the many ways in which his unbounded gifts were made, caused the Gangavāḍi 96000 to shine like Kopana through Ganganātha."[5] Among the other Jain temples built by him mention may be made of Indra Kulla griha, now known as

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1. *Ibid.:* p. 19.
2. E.C.: II; Sb. 73 and 125.
3. *Ibid.:* Sb. 240.
4. *Ibid.:* Sb. 177.
5. E.C., V, Bl. 124, IV: Ng. 32; II. Sb. 240.

Sasana Basadi at Sravana Belgoḷa[1] and the Kattale Basadi for his mother, Pochave. He also set up epitaphs for his mother, his wife, Lakshmimati, who died by Sallekhana and his teacher, Subhachandra.[2]

Among the other Jain generals of Vishṇuvardhana mention may be made of Mariyane, Bharata or Bharatesvara, Punisa, Boppa and Vishṇu or Bittiyanna. Bharata erected the two images of Bharata and Bahubali at Sravana Belgola. He also put up the *happalige* or railing of the hall near those images as also the hall around the Gommatesvara and the grand flight of steps.[3] Inscriptions credit him with the building of eighty new *Basadis* and replacing two hundred old ones at Gangavāḍi.[4] Bittiyanna after his successful expeditions to Kongu built the Visṇuvardhana Jinalaya to which king Vishṇuvardhana made grants.[5]

Vishṇuvardhana was not inimical to Jaina faith becomes further evident from the fact of his devotion to Śrīpāda Trividya Dēva and his building of a Jaina abode at Chalyar and making appropriate grants for the repairs of Jaina temples as well as for the maintenance of Jaina saints.[6] The Bēlūr inscription informs us that general Boppa built the Pārsvanātha Basadi at Dōrasamudra in memory of Gangarāja and named it *Drohagharātta Jinalaya.* "After the consecration of this Drohagharatta Jinalaya, when the priests took the consecrated food to Vishṇuvardhanadeva at Bankapura—at that time King having defeated and slain Masana .... and seized the whole of his empire; and to (the queen) Lakshmi-mahadevi, a son having been born, with the qualities of Dasaratha and Nahusa—

"Vishṇuvardhana thus having filled with joy an account of both this victory and the birth of a son, seeing the priests

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1. E.C., II, Sb. 75.
2. *Ibid.*: 128 and 117.
3. Mysore Gazetteer, *Ibid.*: p. 1340.
4. E.C., II, Sb. 265 and 267; E.C., IV, Ng. 32; VI, Cm. 160.
5. E.C., V; Bl. 17.
6. Karnataka Through the Ages.

had brought the sandal water and consecrated food from the consecration of the God Pārśva, he ordered them to approach and raising to meet them with joined hands to his forehead, and took the sandal water and consecrated food, saying, "By the merit of the consecration of this God I have obtained both victory and the birth of a son, and have been filled with joy" he therefore gave the God the name of Vijaya Parsva and to his son the name of Vijaya Narasiṁha Dēva.

And for the prosperity of his son and for the promotion of Universal peace he made a grant of Javagal in Asandi Nad and various other grants to provide for ceremonies and anointing at the three seasons of the God Vijaya Pārśva and the twenty four *Thirthankaras*, the repair of their *Basti* and the food of the ascetics."[1]

The above account indicates his deference to Jainism. To quote the Mysore Gazetteer: "His change of faith did not mean any want of patronage in favour of the Jainas, with whose teachers he seems to have kept close contact. He was not merely tolerant; he was active in helping them to flourish."[2]

Narasiṁha I was also tolerant towards Jainism. Like the generals of Vishṇuvardhana, most of his generals were the followers of Jina. Some generals like Hulla served under both Vishṇuvardhana and Narasiṁha. An inscription says: "King Narasiṁha visited the Jaina Gommata and Pārśvanātha, as also the shrine of Chaturvimsati villages and granted for them Savaneru, Bekke and Keggere."[3]

Narasiṁha's foremost general was Hulla who, as a promoter of Jainism, is placed along with Chavundaraya and Gangaraja. Says the Sravana Beḷgoḷa inscription: "The general Hulla gladly caused this excellent Jaina temple to be built with all adjuncts so that people said that it was a charming ornament of Gommatapura. Together with its enclosure, dancing hall, two fine strongly built large Jaina

1. E.C., V; Bl. 124.
2. *Ibid.*: p. 1351.
3. E.C., II, Sb. 240.

dwellings at the sides, and mansion with doorways resplendent with various elegant ornaments of foliage and figure, the matchless temple of Chaturvimsati Thirthankaras, resembling *a mass of religious merit, was thus completed by Hulla.*"[1]

When Narasiṁha I visited the temple, he "lovingly bestowed upon it the second name Bhavyachudamani after one of Hulla's title Samyaktva Chudamani." He also renovated many other temples. Hulla delighted "in the restorations of Jaina temples, in assemblies for Jaina worship, in gifts to groups of Jaina ascetics, in devotion to the praise of Jina's feet and in hearing holy Purāṇas of Jina."[2]

An inscription refers to the construction of many temples, Basadis, Vishṇu temples and tank by samanta Guli Bachideva in the Marugere Nad, in Kydala, during the reign of Narasiṁha.[3] According to another inscription, one Machiyakka built a Jaina mandira and a tank called Padmavatigere during the reign of Narasiṁha.[4] Also during his reign, Govideva built the Channa Parsva Basadi at Heggere in memory of his wife Mahadevi-Nayakita.[5]

The example of Narasiṁha was followed by Ballāḷa II, also called Vīra Ballāḷa. During his reign, the Jaina teacher Vadibhasimha Tarkika-Chakravarti Sripala-Traividya Deva along with his disciples, Marisetti, Kāmisetti and Bhārati Setty 'together with the merchants from all countries and citizens caused to be erected a fine Jaina temple of God Abhinava Santinatha Deva called Nagara Jinalaya' at Dorasamudra.

"Ballāḷa was pleased to see the eight fold worship and the free distribution of food to ascetics in the temple of God Abhinava Santinatha Deva. On this occasion King Veeraballadeva, acting in accordance with the unanimous prayer of the Nadagowdas made a gift of the villagers Muchandi and

1. *Ibid.*: Sb. 345 ; Introduction, pp. 26-27.
2. *Ibid.*: Sb. 345.
3. E.C., XII, Tm. 9.
4. *Ibid.*: Tm. 38.
5. *Ibid.*: Ck. 21.

Kadalahalli in Gummana Vritti in the Maysenadu to Vajranandi Sidhanthi Deva . . . for the service of offering eight fold worship to God . . . . and for repairs of the temples and for free gifts of food to ascetics."[1]

Devashetty "A rich merchant, constructed the Jaina temple called Veeraballa Jinalaya . . . for the service of the temple and the priests and also for meeting the expenses of repairs of the temple whenever necessary, the King at the request of Devashetti made gift of some villages together with the right to collect toll dues on some commodities . . . ."[2]

Recharasa a counseller of the Kalachurya was a devotee of Jina. He obtained from Ballāḷa II a grant and regranted it to the Jainas of Arasiyakere where he also set up the image of Sahasra Kuta Jina.[3]

We learn from an inscription that Achiyakka, wife of Chandramauli, a brahmana minister of Ballāḷa II erected the Akkana Basati at Sravanabeḷgoḷa. For the upkeep of this temple Ballāḷa granted the village of Bammanayanahalli.[4] In 1195 A.D., Nāgadēva a minister of Ballāḷa built the Nagara Jinalaya at Śrávanabeḷgoḷa.[5]

Narasimha II and Rāmanātha extended their patronage to Jainism. An inscription on a pillar at Kogali records the gift of gold to the Jain temple of Channa Parsva at Kogali by Pratapa Chakravartin Vīra Rāmnātha Dēva.[6] Narasimha III paid a visit to Boppadeva Dannayaka Basadi, on the occasion of his coronation, and made offerings to God Vijaya Pārśva.[7] He made further grants to the same Basadi on the occasion of his *Upanayana*.[8] Somēśvara not only paid homage to Jaina

1. M.A.R., 1926. Page 51.
2. *Ibid.*: 1923, pp. 3940.
3. E.C., V, Ak. 77.
4. E.C., II, Sb. 327; Introduction, Page 27.
5. *Ibid.*: Sb. 335.
6. T. Rangacharya: Inscriptions of Madras Presidency, Vol. I, By 192.
7. E.C., V, Bl. 125.
8. *Ibid.*: Bl. 126.

gods but also invited his subjects to pay homage to them after he had established his triple Umbrella in Vijaya Thirthadhinatha Basadi.

It would be evident from the above survey that Jainism was patronised by most of the Hoysaḷa rulers. It is possible that Jainism lost much of its hold due to coming into prominance of Srivasṇavism and Saivism.

VĪRA BALLĀLA III AND THE FOUNDATION OF VIJAYANAGAR EMPIRE

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THIS PAPER RECORDS the exploits of Vīra Ballāḷa III against the enemies from the North of India and his failure in stemming their aggressions. His life was a perpetual battle against instability of principalities at war with one another and against Muslim invasions whose intent was not only conquest but also to destroy the citadels of religion and culture. Thus, Vīra Ballāḷa's period was an "Age of Ferment" to reinstate antiquity, to gather up afresh the products of the great classic part and so to blend them with the spirit of the Age as to generate some energising principle which would animate his contemporaries with an exalted sense of patriotism in defence of the unity of their heritage and the solidarity and preservation of their culture. There was a new awakening and perception of a new dimension of the mind and new defences all over Karnāṭaka had been planned to meet the new threat from the north. Fortifications were built at Hampi and at different parts in South India and Vīra Virūpākshā Ballāḷa, son of Mummaḍi Ballāḷa was crowned "Chakravarti" at Hampi while the emperor was always on the move to tranquilise the country.

According to Ferrista "Billal Dev built a strong city upon the frontiers of his dominion and called it after his son Beeja to which the word Nagar was added so that it came to be known as Beejanagar". This was adjacent to Hosaveedu or Hospet which he built to revive the memories of Halebeedu which had been destroyed by Malik Kafur. This was in the year 1339 A.D. when Ballāḷa III installed his son Vīra Ballāḷa Dēva at Hampe

as *Yuvarāja*. Harihara I was a chieftain under Emperor Ballāḷa III and his son Ballāḷa IV. His brother Bukka I was also a chieftain till in the year 1388 and long after the death of Ballāḷa IV. He enlarged the city to become the capital for the empire and proclaimed himself as is clear from E.C., VII, Sk. 81, as an independent emperor of the new Vijayanagar Empire. As observed by Dr. M. H. Krishna, MARI, 1932, page 79, 'Bukka was the hero who more than anybody else was responsible for the establishment of the Vijayanagar. In E.C., VI, Koppa 25, Bukka I has been rightly compared to Arjuna among the Pandavas. Bukka Bhupathi prachanda *vikramooh Pandava-namivarjunah*. It is for this reason Harihara I was never an independent king in an independent kingdom of his own but has just been mentioned in genealogies of Sangama dynasty found in inscriptions as the one reported in Bombay Historical Society Journal, Vol. I, Part II, p. 2. It was Bukka who established the empire in 1368 and not on 1336 as is generally believed.

To bring unity among the Hindus religious leadership was inevitable and there is conflict of opinion whether Kriyasakti the *Guru* of Sangama dynasty or Vidyāranya of Sṛingēri or whether Kriyasakti and Vidyāranya one and the same person laid the foundation of the Empire. Kriyasakti of Golaki *maṭha* in the Kakatiya kingdom inspired the formation of the Vijayanagar Empire went from Warangol the capital of Pratapa Rudra to Hakka and Bukka who after Pratapa Rudra's defeat, accepted service under Vīra Ballāḷa III. It is significant that this Kriyasakti later became Vidyāranya.

According to Malik Kafur inscriptions and Mysore Gazetteer, Krishna Nāyaka son of Pratap Rudra offered the help of the Andhras to defend the Hoysaḷa Empire. Golaki *Maṭha* had its branches all over Southern India. Srikanta Natha was the *Guru* of Sangama II and of Sayana and his brothers, and was the *Guru* also of the *Maṭha* at Kāñchi and he was teaching the ancient cult of Mahēśvaras. Bittere Gunte inscription E.C., I, Volume III, Page 118, Vidya Tirtha referred to as the Mahēśvara went to the Hoysaḷa country and stayed at Simhagiri. Hampe

Virūpāksha *Maṭha* was a branch of Golaka *Maṭha* as observed by Vetore Prabhakara Sastri in his learned introduction to Telugu Basava Purāṇa. Vidyāranya and Bhāratī Tīrtha both stayed at Sṛingeri and it was Kriyasakti whose traditions were followed by Vidyāranya and Golki *Maṭha* was thus the founders of the Vijayanagar Empire. The defeat of the Yādavas and the Kakatiyas of Warangal followed by the defeat of Vīra Ballāḷa Hoysaḷa, that inspired the foundation of the new Empire of Vijayanagar which continued uninterrupted by its struggle against the Muslims till its final defeat and annihilation in 1565 in the battle of Rakkasa Taṅgḍi.

BALLĀLA III AND VIJAYANAGARA

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HOYSALA BALLALA III is an eminent and colourful personality in the history of India. His long reign of about half a century (1291–1342 A.D.) was eventful in many aspects. It was during his rule that the great world famous empire of Vijayanagara took its birth. I propose to briefly deal within this paper the relationship of this Hoysaḷa ruler with Harihara I, the founder of Vijayanagara, and the role played by the former in its foundation.

Wrong Lead:

On account of the wrong lead given by some of our historians during the last four decades or so, the question of the foundation of Vijayanagara has become complicated and confusing. This complication and confusion have been deepened by incessant and persistant repetitions which have made the uncritical readers to believe what is not a fact as a fact and what is unhistorical as historical.

Fresh Approach:

This problem therefore needs to be studied afresh objectively according to the accepted principles of historical investigation and interpretation.

The three main aspects of this problem are the following: one, the origin and regional affiliation of the founder; two, his career and rise to leadership of the freedom movement against alien aggression and domination; three, his relationship with Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa III who was fervently engaged in the pursuits to free the country from the peril of the foreigners.

Recent Findings:

In a recent paper[1] presented in the Vijayanagara Seminar held at Hospet during last November, I have elaborately discussed these questions and arrived at the following conclusions.

The founders of Vijayanagara, viz., Harihara I or Bukka had nothing to do with Warangal at any time.[2] They never served in the court of Kākatīya Pratāparudra. The subsequent part of the story of their employment under the Kampili ruler, their captivity, conversion and loyal service under the Delhi Sultan, later deputation as his agents and governors of the Hampi region and finally their apostatization and admission to the Hindu religion is all fictitious.

Legendary Sources:

This account presented by some modern historiographer is unsupported by authentic epigraphical sources. On the contrary, it freely draws upon late literary sources which are mostly legendary. The principal one among them is the *Vidyāraṇyakālajñāna* compiled about the end of the fifteenth century or even later. Its legendary character is betrayed by its attribution to Vidyāraṇya, the desultory and unhistorical fashion of its narration and the introduction of the mythical element through Rēvaṇasiddha (see below).

Topics Under Study:

Here, I would now discuss in some detail, the question of the domicile of the founders and critically study the circumstances that led to the foundation of Vijayanagar, focussing attention on the mutual relationship between the Hoysaḷa ruler and the originators of the new kingdom.

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1. This paper with some modifications is being published in the Journal of Karnatak University – Social Sciences, No. VI, 1970, pp. 175 ff. Its contents are also published in *A History of Karnataka* (Ed. P. B. Desai), pp. 305 ff.

2. This is proved with the help of Gozalvidu inscription of Bukka I, dated 1374 A.D., recently copied and thoroughly examined.

Domicile of the Founders:

As for the domicile of the founders the epigraphical testimony clearly shows that they belonged to Karnāṭaka. Sangama, the father of Harihara, must have been a modest local chief without distinguished official status. This can be inferred from the non-existence of any records issued by him or the absence of any allusion to him in the inscriptions prior to the foundation of Vijayanagara.

Positively and naturally, however, Sangama figures and is extolled in the inscriptions of the successive rulers of his dynasty. In them formal praise is bestowed upon him and he is attributed some expolits which do not carry much historical significance.

Karnata Country:

But, from the historical point of view, there is one important item of information, which is again and again cited in the course of descriptions about Sangama. This is that he belonged to the Karnata country which he adorned.[1] The original passage in Sanskrit reads like this:

Tatrāsīt Saṅgamō nāma
bhūmipālō guṇottaraḥ ।
yēna Karnāṭa-dēśāsrīḥ
sthira-tāṭaṅkavatyabhūt ॥

It means:

> There resided a chief named Sangama possessing high qualities. It was on account of him that the goddess of Karnāṭa country was endowed with the privilege of incessantly wearing the ornament of earrings of married ladies.

No argument is needed to prove the validity of this singular assertion[2]; it can be accepted as an unquestionable historical fact.

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1. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. III, Ml. 121; Vol. VIII, Nr. 69, etc.
2. Being a contemporary statement in the records of the Sangama rulers, there is no scope for imagination or exaggeration.

Hampi Region:

A further question on this may be asked: which part of Karnataka was Sangama's native region? The answer to this also is furnished by the epigraphical records.

In one place it is stated that it was the region of Tungabhadrā (Tungā-kshamā). Another statement in a similar context mentions the birth of Sangama in the vicinity of Pampāpuri which is Hampi. The original passage reads: *Pampāpurīparisarē bhava Sangamākhyah.* Some of these assertions are found in the records of as early a date as 1376 A.D.[1] Hence all of them have to be treated as authentic and historically sound.

Harihara–Ballāḷa Enmity?

It is unfortunate that modern scholars are misled by the legendary narration in the *Vidyāraṇya–Kālajñāna* in assuming that Harihara and Bukka were inimical to Ballāḷa III and fought with him for carving out their new kingdom of Vijayanagara. The relevant part of the story as given in the above treatise[2] is like this:

> Impressed by the fidelity and steadfastness of the two brothers, Harihara and Bukka, who had been brought as captives after destroying the kingdom of Rāmanātha, where they served formerly, the Delhi Sultan deputed them as his trusted officers to govern the province of Karnāṭa. Crossing the river Kṛishṇā, they reached the territory. There they fought with king Ballāḷa and were defeated. In this hour of distress the sage Rēvaṇa Siddha appeared in the dream of Harihara; and bestowing the Linga of Chandramauḷīśvara, he assured him of his future success and royalty with the blessing of Vidyāraṇya. Then they assembled their scattered forces, fought with king Ballāḷa and conquered his dominions.

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1. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IV, Yd. 46.
2. *Further Sources of Vijayanagara History*, Vol. II, pp. 14 ff.

Figment of Imagination :

Implicitly pinning his faith on this strange episode of the founding of Vijayanagar, which we have elsewhere shown as baseless,[1] Dr. N. Venkataramanayya has devoted one full chapter in support of it in his *Vijayanagara – Origin of the City and the Empire* (Chapter V, pp. 129–247). He has tried to prove that Harihara I established and expanded his kingdom in defiance of and with opposition to the Hoysaḷa rule and authority. A thorough probe and critical investigation of his arguments which are ostensibly reinforced with the testimony of epigraphs, reveals the hard fact that his plea is nothing but a figment of wild imagination. The learned author's own diffidence and uncertainty about his own views are betrayed by his free use of conjectural expressions like, 'may be', 'should', 'seems', 'appears', etc. in the course of the discussion.

Epigraphs Misinterpreted:

The epigraphs cited by the author to support his thesis are beside the mark and do not prove the affirmations made in the body of the essay. For instance, in the records, Chintamani 53, Kolar 54, Bowringpet 28 and Malur 16, all in the Kolar District (*Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol, X), there is no indication of the alleged fight or the so called war between Ballāḷa III and Harihara I.

They are grants made for some religious purpose for the merit of Ballappa Daṇḍanāyaka. The reference in them like 'for the victory of the sword and arm' *(vāḷukkuṁ tōḷukkum jayamaha)*, of this dignitary does not justify the inference drawn about the state of hostility. In none of these records Harihara is mentioned. This Ballappa was a famous general and trusted higher officer of Ballāḷa III, who successfully assisted his master in the administration of the empire by quelling the disturbances and maintaining peace and order. Furthermore, he was related to Ballāḷa III and Harihara I,

1. A History of Karnataka, pp. 305 ff.

being the nephew (sister's son) of the former and son-in-law of the latter. What would be reasonable in this context was to show explicitly that Harihara and Ballappa had fallen out. But this was not possible. In fact, their relations were never strained. The most authentic proof for this is the famous Sṛingēri inscription[1] of 1346 A.D. wherein Ballappa figures among the leading participants in the historic celebration of victory after the foundation of Vijayanagara by Harihara and his four brothers.

Misleading Arguments :

Further, indulging in a lengthy discussion to justify his baseless theory of Ballāḷa-Harihara hostility, the said author concludes that Ballappa Dandanayaka should have fought with Harihara in the Nigarili Chōḷa-mandala included in Kolar district.

Another typical instance deserves scrutiny here. Inscription Hunasuru 114 in Mysore District (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IV) is a record on hero-stone. It is damaged and its purpose is not clear. Dated 1344 A.D., it simply mentions Hariyappa Odeya and some Gaudas. The details of the fight are not known. Still, this is taken to support the theory of the alleged war between Ballāḷa III and Harihara I. In fact, it might be the usual cattle raid record pertaining to local feuds.

Modern Legends :

This is the best example of how history could be distorted and travestied by misusing the most valuable evidence of inscriptions to suit one's fancies, and preconceived notions. Truly, these are modern legends created by modern historiographers with modern so-called scientific methods. They have done incalculable injustice and harm to the cause of true history.

Ballaḷa's National Spirit :

Thus exploding the myth of civil war between the Hoysaḷas and the Sangamas, I now turn my attention to the real great

1. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI, Sg. 1.

war of national independence that was waged for about three decades by Ballāḷa III and following him continued by Harihara I.

The Muslim invasion of the South was an unprecedented calamity of universal magnitude, visiting it for the first time in its history. Its disastrous shadows were cast over the Hoysaḷa empire in the first decade of Ballāḷa's reign. By the end of the second decade they assumed the formidable form of a thunderbolt which struck the Hoysaḷa capital and the kingdom with devastating effects.

Ballāḷa was made of a different calibre than other rulers of the South, like the Yādava, the Kākatīya and the Pāṇḍya. Before the superior might of the aggressor he bent, but did neither prostrate nor succumb. His foresight, patriotic fervour, indomitable spirit of freedom, unflinching energy and courage against heavy odds, ever wakeful national interest, resourcefulness, diplomacy, capacity to take quick decision and prompt action, all enabled him to rise to the occasion to squarely face the growing menace to the country and the people.

Enemy's Triumph :

It is worthwhile to recapitulate the following important events that mark the progress of alien conquest of South India : After a series of incursions the kingdom of Dēvagiri was wiped out in 1318 A.D. The kingdom of Warangal was extinguished by the final blow of the invader in 1323 A.D. The principality of Kampili was crushed in 1327 A.D. Dōrasamudra, the Hoysaḷa capital was sacked in 1310 A.D. Invaded more than once, the Pāṇḍyan territory was subjugated and the Delhi Sultan's governor was posted at Madura in about 1333 A.D.

Ballāḷa's Supreme Efforts:

Behind this political background we can review the activities of Ballāḷa III.

Ballāḷa's empire extended from the Hampi-Tungabhadrā territory in the north to Rāmēśvaram in the south. From shore

to shore it stretched across to the east and the west. The enemy had overrun this vast territory and entrenched himself firmly with his military garrisons established in all important strategic positions. It was a stupendous feat to dislodge such an adversary and free the land from his clutches. But Ballāḷa applied himself to this task of achieving it with his exemplary zeal and uncommon acumen.

By collating the epigraphical sources available in numbers, cautiously utilising the accounts of Muslim writers and a study of topography, it is possible to describe in broad outlines the grim freedom fight launched by the Hoysaḷa king and the extraordinary measures devised by him to accomplish his objective. The inscriptions, though found in a large quantity, do not furnish many necessary details. Still, even the limited information forthcoming from them is valuable.

Northern Defence:

It is unquestionable that the Hampi area was included in Ballāḷa's empire and this fact is supported by epigraphical evidence.[1] A modern visitor to Hampi is prone to question the wisdom of the statesmen of the fourteenth century in choosing such a mountainous wilderness as a capital city of their empire. However, if one carefully examines the topography of the two banks of the river around Hampi, their essentially hilly character, inaccessible ruggedness and natural fortifications, one has to conclude that from the military point of view it was the strongest tract serving as an invulnerable barrier to the ruthless invader, affording countless advantages of defence and attack.

In the course of his defensive arrangements it appears that Ballāḷa III built a new fort in the mountain ranges to the north of the river for this purpose and it might have been called variously as Hosadurga, Virūpāksha-Hosadurga, Hosabeṭṭa, Hosapaṭṭaṇa,[2] etc.

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1. Ep. Carn., Vol. IX, Dv. 21.
2. William Coelho, *Hoysala Vamsa*, p. 239.

Virūpākshapura, Virūpākshapāda,[1] Vīra-Vijaya-Virūpākshapura,[2] Virūpakskapaṭṭaṇa, etc , mentioned in some of his inscriptions may also refer to this new stronghold erected by Ballāḷa III. The association of the God Virūpāksha's name with it can easily be explained, taking into consideration the proximity of the temple of this deity just on the opposite bank. The suffix Vijaya in the second name is honorific line Vīra-Vijaya-Ballāḷapura.[1] It would be incorrect to connect it with the city of Vijayanagara, later founded by the Sangamas on the southern bank of the river.

Ballāḷa's Strategy:

By fortifying the northern frontier Ballāḷa could prevent new inroads of the enemy. But what about the forces that had already occupied the territories and were carrying on their military rule? The tracts under their occupation were spread over wide areas in the north, south, east and west. For this, Ballāḷa, a skilled diplomat as he was, adopted the strategy of encountering the enemy in his own settlements, ranging in all directions. Thus only he could be routed and evicted. In pursuance of this effective strategy Ballāḷa moved about from place to place mobilizing his forces and preparing them for the offensive. The events show that this grand strategy worked well.

Further, from the account of Ferishta about Ballāḷa's convening an assembly of his kinsmen[4] and his contacts with the chiefs and leaders of the Andhra and Tamil regions suggest that it was a planned confederacy of south Indian nationals organized for the purpose of freeing the land from foreign domination.

The following is a brief sketch of Ballāḷa's strenuous endeavours and long-range incessant movements directed to achieve this end.

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1. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IX, Dv. 21.
2. *Ibid.*: Ht. 43.
3. *Ibid.*: Vol. V, Ak. 72.
4. *Hoysala Vamsa*, p. 246.

When Dōrasamudra was sacked by Malik Kafur in 1310 A.D. Ballāḷa resorted to Bēlūr. After six years he rebuilt his capital in 1316 A.D. Two years later he shifted his residence far away to Tiruvaṇṇāmalai in South Arcot district. This place is mentioned variously as Aruṇāsamudra, Uṇṇāmalepaṭṭaṇa and the like. From 1318 A.D. intermittantly he was dwelling in this town. Subsequently, in 1331 A.D. and later from 1340 to 1343 A.D. he was camping in this city. Inbetween in 1334 A.D. he visited Kañchi in Chingleput district. Between 1330 and 1340 A.D. he was in the northern stronghold on the other side of Hampi.[1]

Pondering over this, we are justified in surmising that this centrally situated town of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai must have been a convenient stronghold wherefrom the Hoysaḷa king could conduct his operations against the enemy in the eastern tracts of Andhra and Tamilnad. It is assumed[2] that the venue of the assembly of freedom warriors was arranged by him at this place in 1328 A.D. We can see that from here he could also plan his attack against the newly created enemy pocket in the southern Pāṇḍyan kingdom at Madura which became a thorn in his side.

In the west, the Muslim threat was not serious. But Ballāḷa had to reckon with the feudatory Āḷupas who had grown recalcitrant. It was to check the defiance of his subrodinates in this area that in 1338 A.D. he paid a visit to Bārakūr[3] and strengthened his military contingent there.

The freedom struggle of Ballāḷa appears to have gathered momentum and reached its final stage in the south by 1330 A.D. His followers were hopeful and prayed for his success by performing religious ceremonies in their usual fashion. Two inscriptions in Bangalore district, dated 1330 A.D., register grants for the victory to the sword and arm of king Ballāḷa III.[4]

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1. Saletore : Social and Political Life, etc. pp. 6–7, *Hoysala Vamsa*, pp. 236, 239, etc.
2. Heras, *Beginnings of Vijayanagara History*, p. 123.
3. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V, Ak. 183.
4. *Ibid.*: Vol. IX, Ht. 100 and An. 75.

In the north, in the Hampi-Ānegondi area there was popular uprising against the rule of the Sultan whose governor of the region had to leave his post and flee to Delhi. This rebellion and a similar one in the Andhra province, which had taken place earlier, might have been inspired by the freedom movement sponsored by Ballāḷa and received impetus from its success in the southern parts. But before reviewing the course of events in this particular tract we have to note an important devise adopted by Ballāḷa in the administrative matters to cope up with the new situation arising out of the destructive foreign invasion.

Decentralisation of Power

This devise was to delegate more powers and freedom of action to his ministers, generals, feudatories and provincial officers. But, before granting this freedom Ballāḷa seems to have taken them into confidence and enlisted their loyalty and unswerving devotion to his mission of fighting the foreigners. Inscriptions furnish a good number of examples in support of this position. A few of them may be cited here.

1. King Ballāḷa and general Mādigidēva were ruling the kingdom from Dōrasamudra (1307 A.D. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IX, Hoḷalkere 136).
2. King Ballāḷa, Great Minister Mādigidēva and Great Minister Māchaya (the son-in-law) were ruling the kingdom from Dōrasamudra (1310 A.D., *Ibid.:* Chitradurga 1).
3. King not mentioned. Great Minister Māva Daṇḍanāyaka was ruling the kingdom (1311 A.D., *Ibid.:* Vol. IV, Gundlupet, 45).
4. King Ballāḷa, strong-armed Bhīmarāya, prince Kathōra-Hara, prince Simha-Raghunātha, prince Kālamēgha, prince Vira-Śānta, general Baicheya, Great Minister Ballappa Daṇḍanāyaka and Great Minister Singeya Daṇḍanāyaka (in all nine) were ruling the kingdom from Uṇṇāmale (1328 A.D., *Ibid.:* Vol. IX, Chitradurga 4).

5. King Ballāḷa was at Virūpāksha-Hosadurga. He and Great Minister Kāmeya Daṇḍanāyaka were ruling the kingdom (1331 A.D., *Ibid.*: Vol. XII, Gubbi, 30).
6. Hiriya Ballappa Daṇḍanāyaka, son of Great Minister Rāmeya Daṇḍanāyaka of king Ballāḷa's palace was ruling the kingdom (1338 A.D., *Ibid.*: Vol. XI, Chitradurga 6).
7. King not mentioned. *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Vīra Hariyappa Oḍeya bearing the titles, Arirāyavibhāḍa etc., and the title Lord of the Four Seas, was ruling the kingdom (1340 A.D., *Ibid.*: Vol. IV, Nelamangala 19).

Unique Instances:

These and a few others that can be cited are unique instances. Usually in such circumstances, the king is known to share his sovereignty by associating himself with the queen, princes or members of the royal family. But here his authority and responsibility are shared by ministers and generals who are his subordinate officers. Sometimes these officers issued grants on their own without referring to the king. There is no indication that this was due to anarchy and insubordination. This extraordinary devise must have been necessitated on account of the extraordinary circumstances, the country was passing through.

In the fourth of the above instances there are nine persons including the king and four princes, who bear the joint responsibility of governance. This is a singular instance. It has been interpreted with reference to the assembly of kinsmen convened by Ballāḷa mentioned above. Harihara in the last instance is unquestionably Harihara I of Vijayanagara. Inspite of his imperial title, Lord of the Four Seas, it has to be specifically noted that he is styled *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, signifying his subordinate allegiance to Ballāḷa III, though the latter is not mentioned in the record.

Rise of Harihara:

Owing to the paucity of records we are handicaped in clearly portraying the early career of Harihara. However, we

may note a few details about him with a fair amount of certainty. He was a native of the Hampi-Ānegondi region where his father Sangama, as seen above, was a local chief of some standing. Harihara might have commenced his early career as a subordinate officer under Ballāḷa III and subsequently been promoted to the dignified status of a Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara or provincial governor. Three early inscriptions, including the one cited above,[1] dated 1339–40 A.D., wherein he prominently figures, specifically mention this official title. As there was no other well established sovereign at that time, except Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa III, his relationship as provincial governor could be with none else.

As Ballāḷa was intent upon defending the northern frontiers of his empire, which he strengthened with new fortifications, he might have entrusted the responsibility to Harihara who was the most fitted officer for this commission. Thus, while Ballāḷa could concentrate his resources in the south and south-east, Harihara was left free to pursue his task in the north and north-west. Harihara's success in this direction is attested by his construction of a fort at Bādāmi farther in the north and extension of his sway in the northern zone of west coast which was acknowledged by the Muslim governor of the area.[2]

Earlier, recognizing the princely blood, respectable family status and the official rank of Harihara, Ballāḷa went further to contract matrimonial alliance with the former. Consequently Ballappa Daṇḍanāyaka who ranked high in the Hoysaḷa officialdom and whom Ballāḷa fondly addressed as his own son, though a nephew (sister's son), became the son-in-law of Harihara.

1336–1340 A.D.:

The year around 1336 A.D. was a critical juncture in the freedom struggle of Ballāḷa. Though successful, he was yet to

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1. The other two are: *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, 63; *Further Sources, op. cit.*, No, 20. Atakalgundu Inscription.

2. Heras: *op. cit.*, p. 68.

win the last war by conquering the territory under the occupation of the Muslim governor of Madura. In the north the Delhi Sultan was striving to keep under his control the Hampi-Ānegondi region which had revolted against his rule. To a man nearing the age of seventy-five, that was Ballāḷa, it was beyond possibility to effectively extend his authority to these farther limits.

Hence, carrying his measure of decentralisation of power to the extreme, Ballāḷa appears to have conferred upon Harihara not only full freedom of action, but even autonomy over the areas under his jurisdiction. Harihara in the meanwhile succeeded in pacyfying the rebellious chiefs in the Hampi territory, who were too glad to accept him as their ruler.

Thus came into being the new state of Vijayanagara in the last decade of Ballāḷa III's reign. It was the cumulative product of broad vision, farsighted diplomacy and political generosity of a great monarch and patriotic fervour, spirit of freedom and sacrifice and loyalty to the cause evinced by his official ranks and popular leaders.

Within four years from 1336 A.D., invested with the powers of an autonomous prince, Harihara, aided by his younger brothers Kampaṇṇa and Bukka, rescued the northern territories from east to west, from the hands of the enemy and assumed the title, Lord of the Eastern and Western Seas, along with the specific Vijayanagara epithets like *Arirāyavibhāḍa and Bhāshege-tappuva-rāvaraganḍa.* Three years later in 1343 A.D. when Ballāḷa III was no more he styled himself *Mahārājādhirāja* indicating his supreme rulership.[1]

Great Monarch :

Ballāḷa's achievements are great. He appeared on the scene as the champion of freedom and saviour of the people in the most critical period of Indian history when the entire Southern peninsula was being submerged under the onslaught of the alien invader. He assumed international leadership and

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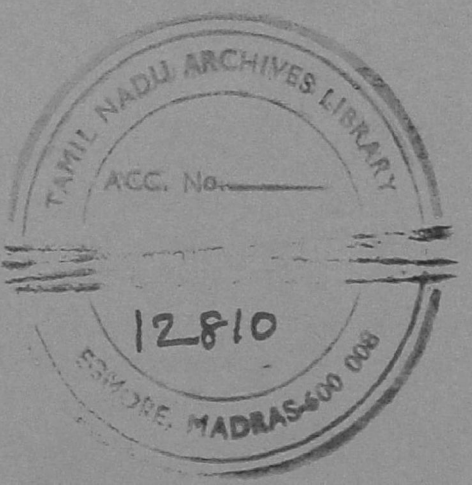
1. *A History of Karnataka,* pp. 317–18.

forged for the first time unity among diverse peoples and potentates of the south. He paved the way for the future glories of Vijayanagara empire. Treacherously killed by the enemy in 1342 A.D. at Madura, he became immortal as a martyr.

Harihara was a worthy successor of Ballāḷa III. He completed the work of establishing *svarājya* and independent national state, which was left incomplete by his predecessor. But for him it is doubtful, if the freedom fighters of the fourteenth century would have succeeded to the extent they did in routing the enemy and founding a powerful kingdom that fulfilled the national aspirations of the people of South India.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INDEX

A

Abhinava Dōrasamudra, 165
Abhinava Ketaladevi, 28, 184
Abhinava Pampa, 287
Abhinava Sāntinātha Dēva, 323
Abhishēka-mandapa, 113
Achān, 311
Āchiyakka, 143, 324
Achuta Raya, 39
Ādavāni, 105
Adhishtana, 241, 242, 243
Adhirājēndra, 305
Adhya, 156
Adigaiman, 66
Adihaiman, 45, 51
Ādimurthi, 188
Ādi Pampa, 7
Adoni, 105
Advani, 158
Āesvara temple, 256, 257
Āgama, 40, 265
Agastiyar, 45, 49
Aggunda, 198
Agnimitra, 144
agrahara, 140, 153, 308, 314
Aham, 258, 52n
Ahiri, 51n
Ahmednagar, 259
Aihole, 6
Aiyangar, S. K., 39, 56n
Ajapa, 107
Ajilas, 92
Akhilandanayaki, 245
Akkadevi, 252
Akkana Basadi, 324
akkasaleya, 138
Akkavve, 142
Akkēsvara, 252
Āladahalli, 90
Ālambākkam, 273, 276
Alaṁkārasarvasva, 263, 264, 265
Alavandi, 28
Aliya Santāna, 95, 96
Altekar, 5, 156
Āludi, 106
Alundurvel, 52n
Alupa, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 92, 93, 95, 96, 97, 226, 338
Ālupa Kulaśēkara II, 91
Ālupa Kulaśēkara III, 91
Āluvakheda, 81, 84, 85, 86, 93, 94
Ālvār, 274, 315
Ambaranāth temple, 257, 258, 259, 260
Ambasamudram, 51n
Ammanna Dandanayaka, 110
Amoghavarsha I, 250
Amritapura, 183, 187, 199
Amriteswara Dannayaka, 183, 187
Amriteswara temple, 183
Ānanda-tāndava, 245
Ānandavalli, 242
Ananta, 187
Anantapur, 102, 108
Anantacharya, 310n
Anantapadmanabha, 230, 231

Anantapadmanabha temple, 228
Anantasayana, 230
Andān, 311
Andayya, 10
Andhra, 7, 98, 102, 107, 108, 337, 338
Anekonda, 183
Angadi, 31, 32, 33, 39, 42, 43, 48, 92, 161, 182
Aniruddha, 231
anjali-mudra, 245
Ankēya Nāyaka, 95
Ankusa, 190, 243
antarāla, 241, 242, 245
anumatadinda, 139
Apramēya, 34
Appadorai, 156, 157
Appanna, 29, 109
Appanna Dandanayaka, 132
Appaya, 101, 102
Appaya-Goppayadisapatta, 101
Appayagopadisapatta, 102
Apsaras, 201, 205, 206
Arabala, 138
Arabia, 163, 164
Āragalūr, 275, 278, 282
Argandanallur, 280, 281, 282
Araiyam, 48
Arakalagode, 26
Arkandanather, 219
Aralaguppe, 190
Arasiyakere, 324
Ardhanāri, 244
Ariraya-Basava Sankara, 89
Ariyalur, 276
Ariyannavallam, 113
Arjuna, 187, 188, 327
Arokiaswami, M., 70
Arsikere, 108, 130n, 131n, 133n, 134n, 161, 162, 164, 165, 167, 184, 199
Arunācala, 278, 280
Arunācalapuranam, 247
Arunasamudra, 247, 338
Arutala Perumal temple, 102, 112
Asandinad, 267, 322
Asoka, 6, 51, 202
astadikpālās, 256
asura, 244
Atibala, 144
Atri, 117
Attāvara, 228, 233
Ayagali, 137
Ayiri Aru, 51n
Ayōdhyā, 7, 8
Ayyavōle, 162, 165
Ayyavole, Five Hundred, 163, 164

B

Badaganda Nandideva (chieftain), 74
Badami, 6, 341
Badami Chalukyas, 7
Badanalu, 129
Baden-Powell, 156, 158
Bahubali, 287, 288, 321
Baicheya (general), 339
Baichoja (sculptor), 187, 188
Bainduru, 228
Balla (enemy of Hoysalas), 72
Ballāḷa, 30, 48, 64, 65, 117, 118, 120, 121, 173, 262, 270, 278, 284, 285, 328, 343
Ballāḷa I, 32, 58, 72, 102, 117, 271, 287, 288, 318

Ballāḷa II, 9, 19, 23, 25, 26, 28, 38, 41, 63, 68, 73, 75, 77, 79, 94, 94n, 100, 102, 104, 105, 118, 121, 123, 125, 127, 136, 142, 143, 155n, 164, 166, 173, 183, 184, 187, 236, 237, 265, 275, 276, 282, 323, 324
Ballāḷa III, 9, 10, 16, 29, 30, 70, 74, 78, 83, 87, 88, 90, 95, 96, 102, 106, 107, 108, 112, 113, 180, 184, 247, 265, 267n, 268, 268n, 270, 271, 284, 315, 326, 327, 329, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 347
Ballāḷagaḷu, 91
Ballappa, 334
Ballappa (minister), 339
Ballappa Daṇḍanāyaka, 333, 341
Balligami (place), 182, 185, 204
Balsāre, 258, 260
Bamaya, 189
Bammaladevi, 117
Bammaladevi, 127
Bammaladeviyarangadi, 165
Bammanayanahalli, 324
Bāṇa, 68, 104, 266, 269, 270, 275, 278, 279, 280, 282, 283, 284, 285
Bāṇādhināthā, 279
Bāṇapati, 279
Bāṇāvara, 164, 167
Banavasi, 64, 76, 78, 85, 162, 165
Bāṇeśwara, 279
Banga (family), 93
Bangadi (place), 92, 93, 94n
Bangalore, 30, 106, 129n, 133n, 197, 338
Bangas, 94
Bankāpura, 118, 121, 162, 321
Bankeya, 250
Bankideva, 95
Bankideva I, (1020–50 AD) 82
Bantanahalli, 138
Bantwal, 96
Bārahakanyāpura, 88
Bārakūru, 83, 90, 93, 95, 95n, 228, 231, 232, 233, 338
Basavadeva, 87
Basavayya, 159
Basavēśwara, 2, 7, 9, 27, 182
Basral, 184, 199
Bayiraṇṇa, 138
Bayire-deva (temple), 22
Beskki, 322
Belavadi, 199
Belegerepattana, 318
Belgaum, 51n, 52n
Belgola, 183, 317, 318
Beḷḷigami, 9, 162, 165, 166, 167, 182
Belthangady (Tlq.), 92, 93, 96
Belugutti, 105
Bēlūr, 1, 8, 15, 22n, 24n, 27, 39, 122n, 134n, 138, 161, 162, 165, 170, 171, 173, 182, 185, 186, 198, 205, 206, 249, 258, 268, 312, 314, 315, 338
Belvola, 63, 64, 65
Bengaru (village), 107
Bettarasa (general), 73
Bettavardhana, 307
Bhadrakali (Goddess), 164
Bhagavata, 184, 187

Bhagavathi, 163
Bhairarasa, 230
Bhairavendra, 230
Bhairavi, 186, 208
Bhakthavatsala (temple), 183
Bhandāri (treasurer), 143
Bhandarkar, 5
Bharatha, 162, 313, 321
Bharatha Dandanayaka, 123, 127
Bharatavarsha, 7
Bharathanatya (dance), 186
Bharatasaṁgraha, 263, 263n
Bharataśāstra, 142
Bharathi setti, 323
Bharathi-Tirtha-Śripāda, 90, 328
Bharhut, 203
Bhasmasura, 206
Bhatkal, 161
Bhavāni (temple), 258
Bhavyachudamani, 323
Bherundas (Hoysala troops), 109
Bhikshatana (Śiva), 244
Bhillama, 63, 64
Bhillama V, 63
Bhimaraya (general), 339
Bhojēśvara (shine), 241
Bhūdēvi, 231
Bhupanahalli, 314
Bhuvanaikamalla, 57
Bhuvaneśwara (in Orissa), 191
Bhuvaneśwari, 258
Bibinachiyar, 311
Bijapur, 288
Bijjaḷa II, 62
Bijjaḷadevi, 35, 69
Billana, 66
Billayya, 28
Birarasa (chieftain), 79, 80
Biruda Ruvari Gondala badira (title), 186
Birudarūvāsi madanamahēśa (title), 186
Bittare Gunte, 327
Bittideva, 9, 13, 58, 122, 123, 127, 307, 308, 318
Bittideva-Garuda, 86
Bittiga (Vishnuvardhana), 66, 67
Bittimayya, 124
Bittiyanna, 321
Bodigai, 243
Bokimayya, 86, 93
Bokinayaka, 72
Bommadi Bāṇavūr, 267n
Bommaṇṇa Daṇḍanayaka, 187
Bommarasa (chieftain), 80
Bommanahalli, 23
Bokkana (general), 93
Bombay, 54
Boppa, 321
Boppadeva (king), 74
Boppadeva Daṇḍanāyaka Basadi, 324
Boppadevanabasadiyangadi, 165
Boppana, 313
Bowringpet, 122n, 333
Brahma (God), 163, 188, 231, 234, 242, 244, 251
Brahmadevara (temple), 250
Brahmagiri (ins.), 6
Brahmaleśwara (temple), 267n
Brahman, 142
Brahmanism, 9
Brahmapuri (place), 251
Brahmeśwara (temple), 138, 183, 204

Brihaspati, 143
Brown, Perey, 260, 260n, 261n
Buchanan, 319
Būchirāja, 123, 183
Buchēśwara (temple), 183
Budali (place), 103
Buddhism, 9
Bukka, 42, 330, 332, 342

C

Cakravartibhatta, 268
Cakravarttin, 262, 264, 274, 278, 279, 280, 283
Candugi, 104
Cannubhatta, 268
Cauvery river, 10, 162
Chakrapāni Gōpinatha, 233
Chalay, 22
Chalukyas of Bādami, 226
Chalukyas of Kalyani, 7, 12, 15, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 55, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 66, 77, 102, 117, 177, 178, 181, 182, 185, 192, 193, 203, 259, 260, 305
Chalukya-Vikrama Era, 58
Chalyar, 321
Champāpuri, 100
Chāmunda, 229
Chāmundesvari, 204
Chānakya, 26
Chandavar, 87, 88
Chandavara Kadamba, 95
Chandirana, 29
Chandramauli, 142, 143, 324
Chandramaulisvara, 332
Chandramauliyannanagudi, 165
Chandranātha Basadi, 235
Chandravaṁsa, 37
Changalvas, 35, 71, 72, 73, 74
Changalvadeva, 73
Changalvanad, 73
Channa Parsva, 324
Channa Parsva Basadi, 323
Channarayapatna, 23, 120n, 121, 162, 187
Chatchattanahalli, 184
Chatta Setti, 164
Chatteśwara temple, 184
Chatti Setti, 167
Chaturvarna, 167
Chaturvimsati, 322
Chaturvimsati Thirthankaras, 323
Chaudēśvari, 43
Chaundala Devi, 75
Chavaka Bamma Gavunda, 107
Chavana, 186, 206
Chavundarāya, 93, 320, 322
Chennakēśava temple, 32, 190, 204, 258, 312, 314
Chennigarāya, 312
Chēra, 45, 112, 163
Chidananda Murthy, Dr., 308
Chikka Bammanayaka, 107
Chikka Bittidēva, 115, 121, 122, 123, 125
Chikka Hampa, 186
Chikka Mallithamma, 189
Chikkanayakanahalli, 161, 172
Chikka Śāntali, 127
Chikkāyi Tāyi, 83, 88, 89, 90, 91
Chikmagalur, 32, 54, 61, 116, 119n, 122n, 123, 124n

Chingalpet, 338
Chinnababu Samudram, 51n
Chinnadandanatha, 22
Chinnayya, 119
Chintamani, 333
Chittoor, 51n, 102, 106
Chittirai, 99
Chitradurga, 138, 184, 197
Chōlas, 10, 9, 13, 14, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38, 50, 54, 55, 56, 58, 66, 68, 69, 70, 74, 98, 99, 112, 125, 129, 130, 131, 133, 139, 140, 163, 164, 178, 182, 193, 194, 236, 240, 241, 243, 269, 270, 272, 276, 280, 320
Chōla Ilam Chet Senni, 52n
Chōlamandala, 196
Cholasthāpanāchārya, 101, 111
Cholas of Hemavati, 108
Cholas of Henjeru, 104, 105, 108
Chōla Mahādevi, 23
Chola Mallideva, 104
Cholas of Nellore, 98, 99
Cholas of Nidugal, 106
Choudaiya, 189
Cingadeva Singana Dandanayaka, 236
Coelho, William, 5, 28, 31, 33, 42, 84, 85, 128, 128n, 130, 130n, 336n
Coimbatore, 29, 70
Coleroon, 240
Conjeevaram, 99, 101, 102n,
Constantine, 313
Coorg, 71, 74
Cousens, Henry, 8, 255, 255n, 257, 258, 260, 261
Cuta 202

D

Dakshinamurti, 241
Dākshinātya, 255
Dāma, 107
Dambal, 249, 253, 259
Dāmōdara Setti, 164, 166
danda, 142
Dandanayaka, 110, 144
Dandanātha, 143
Dandenagōva, 101
Dandinagōpa, 101
Dārāsuram, 243
Daśakumāracharita, 100n
Dasaratha, 321
Dāsa Setti, 164, 165
Daśaśloki, 266
Dasāvatāra, 235
Dāsōja, 185, 186, 190
Davanagere, 183
Dāyādadāvānala, 115
Deccan, 45, 47, 66, 193
Delhi, 20, 339
Derrett. J. D. M., 4, 5, 20, 22, 27, 34, 42, 46, 47, 54n, 56, 71, 75, 84, 85, 88, 102n, 103n, 104n, 105n, 106n, 113n, 121, 128, 128n, 129, 129n, 130, 130n, 131n, 133, 133n, 135, 136, 236, 247, 247n, 272, 308
Desai, P. B., 5, 137n, 330n
Dēvachandra, 287, 288
Devadurge, 105
Devagiri, 13, 61, 162, 254, 335
Dēvakidēvi, 127
Dēvana Garuda, 122
Deva Setti, 324

Dēvika Dēvi, 69
Dhadiyappa, 8
Dhanus, 244
Dhanvanthri, 245
Dhanvanthri temple, 239
Dhanvimisra, 273
Dhanvin, 274, 276, 277, 278, 284, 285
Dhara, 58
"Dharmada Kallu", 94
Dharmapura, 314
Dharmapuri, 14, 29
Dharmaśastras, 156
Dharwar, 63, 250
Dhātri, 9
Dikpalakas, 244
Dilīpa, 22
Dikshit, G. S., 139, 139n, 158
Dhimgoda, 107
Dōra, 43
Dōrasamudra, 33, 36, 43, 44, 46, 49, 66, 69, 78, 112, 113, 118, 130, 162, 165, 166, 262, 314, 321, 323, 338, 339
Doravadi, 106
Dodda Basappa temple, 259
Doddagaddavalli, 182, 198
Dodda Basavanna temple, 249
Draupadi, 188
Drohagaratta Jinalaya, 309, 313, 321
Durga, 175, 176, 179, 245
Dvāraka, 44, 45
Dvarapalakas, 229, 243
Dvāravati, 8
Dvaravatipura, 8
Dvārāvatipuravarādhīśvara, 34
dwaras 243

E

Ēcaladēvi, 58, 117, 127
Edward, King, 24
Egypt, 6
Ēkabhōga, 157
Ellappa Nāvalar, 247
Ellēśapura, 129
Ellēśvara temple, 129
Ellora, 191
Elliot, Walter, 28, 174
Embār, 311
England, 20
Eradukera, 108
Ereyanga, 38, 41, 57, 58, 66, 72, 117, 118, 317
Erode, 29
Erumaiyur, 51n
Eruva, 98

F

Fergusson, James, 183, 254, 255, 255n, 261
Ferrishta, 326, 337
Fleet, J. F., 5, 28, 45, 52n, 60, 67

G

Gadag, 63, 186, 249, 253, 259, 312
Gadyakarṇāmṛita, 68, 109, 266, 271
Gai, Dr., 267 (n)
Gajalakshmi, 231, 256
Gajasankara, 245
Gajasura samharamurthi, 244
Galageshwara temple, 184
Ganapathi (king), 112
Ganapathi (deity), 244

Ganapathi Rao Aigal, 92
Ganas, 244
Gandabherunda, 242
Gandagopala (Tikka I), 99
Gandagopala pudumadai (coins), 99
Gandagopala Madai (coins), 99
Gandasi (place), 134
Ganeśa (deity), 189, 228, 229, 233
Ganga (ins.), 15
Ganga (dynasty), 12, 18
Ganga-Cholas, 249
Gangadeva (minister), 76
Ganganatha, 320
Gangaraja, 22, 60, 67, 144, 181, 309, 313, 320, 322
Gangavathi (place), 67
Gangas of Talakad, 6, 7, 14, 33, 34, 35, 38, 53 (n), 60, 67, 193, 194, 195, 286, 316, 317, 320
Gangas, Western, 192
Gangasamudra, 318
Gangavādi, 9, 34, 36, 37, 54, 56, 58, 66, 84, 92, 93, 118, 164, 196, 236, 312, 320, 321
Gangeya Nayaka, 107
Gangideva (Dannayaka), 107
Garbhagriha, 182
Garbhagriha, 241, 242, 245
Garuda, 133, 188, 230, 232, 233
Garuda Cōkimayya, 125
Garudavahana Pandita, 236
Gatti Ganakere (tank), 167
Gaudas, 334
Gāunda, 138
Gauri-tandava (a dance of Śiva), 245
Gavimatha (ins.), 6
Gāvuṇḍa (office), 84, 85
Gayā, 28, 29
Gejjagarakuppe, 267(n)
George (King), 24
Ghoshal, U.N., 156
Giḷiyāru, 228
Goa, 60, 64
Godāvari (river), 63, 65, 101, 158
Gokarna, 158
Gommata, 314, 319, 322
Gommatapura, 322
Gomateswara, 309, 320, 321
Gondeśvara (temple), 258
Gopa Gavunda (chieftain), 107
Golaka *matha*, 327, 328
Gopal, L., 156
Gopala (image), 187
Gopala (general), 184
Gopala (deity), 315
Gopaya, 102
Gopayya, 109, 110
Gopura, 242, 243, 244
Gōtras, 52(n)
Govardhana (mountain), 188
Govinda, 323
Govinda of Huliyeru (general), 104
Govinda Pai, M., 92, 288
Gopandudi Pandita Deva, 317
Govinda Candra, 263
Govindanahalli, 129, 184, 189, 199
Govindavadi, 320
Gozalvidu, 330 (n)
Grantha (script), 29, 243, 308

Grivas, 241, 242
Gubbi, 101(n)
Gudur, 51 (n)
Gujarat, 255, 256, 257
Guli Bachideva, 323
Gummana vritti, 324
Gundalpet, 198
Gupta, K. M., 156, 157
Gupta Age, 156
Guruparampara-Prabhava, 310
Guruparamparai, 311

H

Haḍavaḷa Bōki (general), 122
Hadinentu Samaya, 137
Hageri (place), 105, 192
Halaru, 137
Halasur, 60n
Hale-Kannada, 42
Haḷebīḍ, 1, 3, 8, 15, 24, 27, 33, 36, 43, 44, 50, 174, 176, 178, 181, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 190, 199, 204, 309, 313, 326
Haḷebīḍ Kaiffiyat, 42
Halikāra Nayaka, 84, 85
Halliyur, 158
Haluva or Halvi, 105
Hampeyadona (a tank), 107
Hampi, 10, 326, 327, 332, 336, 338, 342
Hampi-Anegondi (region), 339, 341, 342
Hanagāvadi, 87
Hanasoge, 182
Hane, 105
Hangal, 76, 78
Hanugal, 165
Hanumadevaja, 188
Happalige, 321
Haradanahalli, 312
Haralakunte (place), 138
Haranahalli, 131
Hari Rao, V. N., 239n, 246n
Harlviale (daughter of Vishṇuvardhana), 309
Harihara, 10, 42, 244, 278, 330, 331, 332, 334
Harihara I, 90, 327, 329, 333, 335, 340, 341, 342, 343
Harihara II, 268n
Harihara Daṇḍanāyaka (minister), 154
Harischandra, 21
Hariyabbarasi (daughter of Vishṇuvardhana), 115
Hariyaladevi, 116, 123, 124, 127
Hariyappa Daṇṇāyaka, 90
Hariyappa Odeya, 334
Haranahalli, 184, 188
Harsha of Uttarapatha, 6
Harsha Charita, 68, 266
Hassan, 43, 60, 61, 181, 182, 183, 188, 197
Hasti Basadi, 318
Hatna, 318
Hawell, 181
Hayagriva, 188, 239
Hayavadana Rao, 5, 312
Hedatale (place), 184, 195, 199
Heggare (place), 184, 323
Hemāḍpant (officer), 254
Hemāḍpanti (temples), 254, 255, 256, 257, 259, 260, 261
Hemavati (place), 98, 107
Hemmaragala, 198
Henjeru (place), 103, 104, 107

Henry (king), 24
Heras, 5, 6, 338n, 341n
Hemagirilakshminarasimha, 314
Hindu, 44, 194
Hindupur, 103, 106, 107
Hirahaḍagali (place), 86
Hirahaḍagali (ins.), 86n
'Hiranya-graha', 134
Hiranyakashipu (a demon), 188, 251
Hiriya Ballappa (general), 340
Hiriya Haḍval, 86
Hiriyabhaṇḍari (senior treasurer), 143
Hiriyaladevi, 115
Hiriyangadi *Basadi*, 235
Hiriyur, 158
Hittu, 137, 138
Holakal (place), 107
Holalkere (ins.), 120n, 267n
Holenarasipur, 129, 174, 176, 184
Honavar, 87
(Honnali), 35
Honnāvara, 161, 162
Honnayakere, 138, 139
Honoja (sculptor), 190
Honnur (place), 74
Hosabetta, 336
Hosadurga, 336
Hosagunda, 79, 80
Hosaholalu (place), 188, 190, 199
Hosala, 47
Hosaleru, 47
Hosana, 47
Hosapattana, 336
Hosaveedu, 326
Hosavidu, 72
Hospet, 137, 326, 330
Hosur, 29
Hoysala Bittideva, 123
Hoysala Deva, 84, 85
Hoysala Devi, 56
Hoysaleru, 50
Hoysalēśwara (temple), 24, 183, 186, 187, 204, 237, 240, 241
Hoysana, 47
Huliyeru, 104
Hulla, 143, 322, 323
Hullekere, 43, 183
Humcha, 79
Hunsur, 71, 334
Hultzsch, 129

I

Immadi Ravvttarya, 315
Indoja, 186
Indra, 143
Indrakila, 187
Indrakulla griha, 320
Indus Valley Civilization, 6
Irama-Piran, 314
Iran, 20
Irivabedanga, 33
Irumgola Chola, 103, 104
Irumkovel, 48, 49, 51, 52n
Isvara Dannayaka, 107
Isvaradeva Sinda, 105
Isvara temple, 134, 183, 184, 187

J

Jagadēkamalla II, 61
Jagadeva, 59, 79
Jagalur, 130n
Jaganobbaganda, 101

Jagati, 185
Jaina, Jainism, 9, 13, 14, 41, 42, 43, 46, 91, 143
Jaina Brahma of Bārakūr, 234
Jaitegi Sēvuna, 105
Jakkanna, Jakkanacharya, 2, 29, 190, 255
Jakkirāja, 143
Jākiyabbe, 36
Jamalabad fort, 93
Jambai, 99, 100
Jambukēśwara temple, 129
Jambukēśvaram, 238, 239, 244, 279
Jambunātha, 274
Jamkhed taluk, 259
Janārdhana, 228, 232, 233
Janna, 2, 10, 27
Japan, 2
Jatāvarman Sundara Pandya I, 112, 113, 135, 238
Jatāvarman Vira Pandya, 70, 238, 243
Jatinga Rāmeśvara, 6
Javagal, 188, 322
Jayakēsi, 64
Jayamangali, 103
Jayasinga-Āluva, 85
Jayasingādu, 85
Jhodga, 258
Jod-Kalashadagudi, 250, 251, 252
Joshi, B. R., 47

K

Kabhappu Thirth, 318
Kadalahalli, 324
Kadambas, 6, 7, 12, 52n, 60, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 197, 199
Kadamba-Alupa, 192
Kadambas of Banavasi, 226
Kadamba Chakravarthi, 77
Kadamba Nagara Shikara, 251
Kādambarī, 264
Kādambarī Kathāsāra, 264
Kadava, 109, 110, 111, 130
Kadur, 29, 39, 56n, 57, 116, 117, 118, 120n, 122n, 123, 123n, 130n
Kadur (inscription), 47, 267n
Kaitabhēśwara (temple), 182
Kailāsa (temple), 7, 191
Kailasanatha, 279
Kākatīyas, 13, 109, 112, 195, 327, 328, 335
Kaksasanas, 256
Kāḷachuri, 62, 63, 77, 79, 178, 287, 316, 324
Kālabhairava, 229
Kalabhras, 14
Kālakalabha, 271
Kālakarikalabha, 171
Kāḷaladēvi, 237
Kalamēgha (prince), 339
Kaḷasa (place), 93
Kalasa, 241, 242
Kalasamhara, (a dance of Shiva) 245
Kalattalaiyar, 48
Kaleyire (place), 66
Kali, 132
Kalidasa, 202
Kalidasi (sculptor), 186, 190
Kaligas, 111
Kalika-tandava (a dance of Shiva), 245
Kalinga, 164
Kaḷingarāya Sūrya, 264

Kaliyur (battle), 34
Kaliyugaraman, 238
Kaliyugaraman (title), 243
Kalleśwara (temple), 184
Kalvakkur, 245
Kalyān, 56
Kalyāṇa, 35, 55, 61, 63, 253
Kalyāṇa Chāḷukyas, 7, 249
Kalyanadurga, 107
Kalyanapuri, 99
Kalyanasundara (a form of Śiva), 244
Kalyāṇi, 99, 162, 193, 195, 196
Kalyani Chalukya-Yadava, 192
Kama (king), 34
Kāma Hoysaḷa, 317n
Kamadeva (king), 77, 208
Kāmākśī, 270
Kambadura (place), 108
Kamboja, 163
Kameya Daṇḍanayaka, 340
Kāmiseṭṭi, 323
Ḳammatamalla Seṭṭi, 166
Kampana II, 237
Kampanna, 342
Kampayya Dannāyaka, 113
Kampaya Dandanayaka, 239, 246
Kampiladeva, 106
Kampili, 55, 106, 330, 335
Kamsa, 187
Kanakandla (place), 107
Kāñchī, 6, 9, 69, 99, 100, 102, 103, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 161, 270, 285, 327, 338
Kanchideva, 315
Kancipuram, 269
Kandur 98
Kane, P. V., 156
Kannanur (Samayapuram at present), 50, 129, 130, 133, 134, 236, 237, 240, 246, 247
Kannegala, 60
Kannegal, battle of, 181
Kanneya-Nayaka (general), 133
Kantavar, 96
Kanti, 287, 288
Kappe Chennigaraya (temple), 183
Kapilar, 48, 49, 53(n)
Karadi, 85
Karai, 153
Karaiyiḍu, 153, 157
Karākada, 234
Karikala, 52(n)
Karikala Chola, 305
Karīviḍi-Hirūr, 84, 85(n)
Kariyamānikka Daṇḍa-nayaka, 239
Kariyamaṟi, 271
Kariyanigaḷa (ins.), 86(n)
Kārkaḷa, 89, 91, 93, 96, 228, 230, 235
Karnataka Someśa (Hoysala Vira Someśwara), 100
Karnatak University, 137
Karnool, 158, 288
Karapagavilli, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 282, 284
Karunakara Toṇḍaimān, 111
Karuvīḍi, 154, 158
Kāshmīra Pravarpurada Śārada Dēvi, 232
Kaśyapa Gōtra, 277(n)
Kathōra-Hara (prince), 339
Kattale Basadi, 321

Kauṇḍinya Gōtra, 144
Kavadeva (king), 78, 80
Kavarasa, 78
Kāvēri (river), 49, 62, 63, 65, 67, 69, 192, 193, 194, 197, 236, 240, 247, 306
Kavicakravarttin, 265, 270, 274, 282, 283
Kaviraja, 273, 283
Kavirajaraja, 283
Kavirājayya, 267, 267(n)
Kavyaprakāśa, 263, 265
Kēdarēśwara (temple), 182, 184, 190
Kedaroja (sculptor), 186
Keerthinarayana, 312, 314
Keggere, 322
Kel-Kelir, 52n
Keḷeyabbarasi (queen), 32
Kencha Malliyanna (sculptor), 186
Kerala, 166
Keravase, 91
Kesanna, 188
Kēśava (God), 182, 186, 187, 229, 232
Kēśava Dandanayaka, 110
Kēśava (temple), 116, 131, 183, 184, 185, 186, 188, 189, 190, 204, 258, 314
Kētaladēvī (queen), 28
Ketamalla, 314
Ketana, 100, 187
Ketanakere, 154
Kēthaladēviyavaragudi, 165
Khajuraho, 191
Khandesh, 258
Khanduga, 138
Kichaka, 256
Kikkayi Tayi, 96
Kikkeri, 183, 186, 204
Kilvelur, 50n
Kiligopura, 278
King Lear, 134
Kimpurusha, 319
Kirthimukha, 188
Kisunadu, 252
Killalur, 52n
Koḍagi, 157
Kodagu, 73, 74
Kodagu, Srirangapaṭṭana (city), 74
Kogali, 324
Koilolagu, 264
Koilolagu, 246n
Kōlāla (Kolar), 67
Kolanur (place), 250
Kolar, 102, 103, 106, 138, 161, 197, 333,
Kolhapur, 64
Kolkaninadu, 318
Kōndigepalli (place), 107
Kongal nadu, 74
Kongalvaraja, 75
Kongalvas, 35, 71, 72, 74, 75
Kongilam Kosar, 51
Kongu, 53n, 68, 321
Konkana, 64, 93
Konnur, 250, 251
Kopana, 320
Koppa, 327
Koppal (ins.), 6
Koppal (Dist.), 28
Koppam, 56
Kopperunjingadeva (Kadava chief), 101, 109, 110, 112
Koramangala, 183, 198
Kosala, 163
Koṭa, 228

Kota (group of Hoysala sculptures), 233
Kotanakere, 159
Koṭekēri, 228
Koṭe keri, 231
Koteshwara temple, 228
Kottai (general), 70
Kottara, 314
Koyattur, 102
Krishna, Lord, 5, 44, 51n, 52n, 187, 188, 232, 233, 235
Krishna, M. H., 5, 174, 327
Krishna, Dr., 177, 179, 179n
Krishna (river), 9, 68, 105, 162, 327, 332
Krishna Rao, Prof. M.V., 1, 4, 5, 11.
Krishna Sastri, H., 55n, 121, 128, 128n
Krishnamacharlu, Mr. C. R., 238, 246
Krishnaraja, 22
Krishnarajapet, 118n, 129n, 133n, 186, 190
Krishnaswamaiengar, 2
Krishnayi Tayi (queen), 95, 96
Kriyasakti, 327, 328
Krōdhana, 119
Krōdhi, 119
Kshetrapalas, 244
Kubera, 165
Kudya, 241, 242
Kulasekhara, 95
Kulottunga, 68, 306
Kulottunga II, 305
Kulottunga III, 68, 276, 282
Kulottunga-Chola, 55, 275
Kulottunga-Chola III, 270, 273
Kumāra, 95
Kumara Ballala Deva, 115, 116, 118, 119, 120, 121, 123, 127
Kumāra Pāṇḍya Jayasingharasa, 86
Kumbha, 241
Kumbha Mela, 3
Kumbha Panjaras, 242, 243
Kumdurpi (place), 107
Kundapur (Taluq), 96
Kundurpe (place), 107
Kunjunambi Setti, 164
Kunnatur, 29, 30
Kuntala, 105, 162
Kuṇṭana Maḍuvu, 154, 158
Kupatur (place), 182
Kūrēsa, 305
Kuru (place), 163
Kuruhalur (place), 101
Kurumudi, 52n
Kuruvaka, 202
Kutas, 242
Kutas, 243, 244
Kuvara-Lakshma, 24
Kyadala, 323

L

Lada, 103, 104
Laddigam, 102
Lakkundi, 63, 64, 249, 253
Lakshmi, 188, 245, 320
Lakshmi temple, 182, 310
Lakshmīdēvi, 115, 116, 118, 127, 321
Lakshmimati, 321
Lakshminarasimhapura, 115
Lakshmīnārāyana, 229, 239, 312, 315
Lakshmīnarayana Rao, 7

Lakshmīnārāyana temple, 184, 190, 258, 259, 260, 310, 314
Lāla, 103, 104
Lalgudi, 273, 276, 284
Lambardar, 159
Lambōdara, 233
Limpongaon, 259
Lingayat, 278
Lingōdhbava, 244
Lōhita, 189
Lokajita, 39
Lōkāmbika, 143
Lōkanāthadēvarasa, 89, 91
Lukmaya, 100

M

Maba (sculptor), 187
Māchaya (minister), 339
Machcharipa rūvārigala gaṇḍa, 186
Macheya, 107
Macheya Nayaka, 106
Machikabbe, 318
Machiyakka, 323
Madakasira, 106, 107
Madanaka, 201
Madapura, 198
Maddur, 198
Madhava Dandanayaka (general), 70, 315
Mādhva (sect), 9, 14
Madhvacharya, 2, 9, 14, 27
Madhuvadi, 107
Madya Pradesh, 7
Mādigidēva (general), 339
Madras, 4, 54
Madras University, 263
Madura, 280, 335, 338, 342, 343
Madura Nayaka, 246
Madura Sultans, 113
Madurai, 48, 112
Maduraikkanchi, 52n
Madurantaka Caturvedi Mangalam (village), 273n, 276
Maḍuvukunṭayahalli (place), 106
Magadaiperumāl, 275
Magadēśvara, 279
Maghada, 104, 163
Maghadas, 281, 283
Maghadaimandalam, 281, 283
Māgadi (ins.), 267n
Mahabharata, 6, 184, 185, 187
Mahadeva, 80, 258
Mahadeva (Yadava king), 254
Mahadeva (Chengalva king), 73
Mahadeva (Sevuna king), 80
Mahadēva Seṭṭi (merchant), 167
Mahadevi, 35, 36
Mahadevi Nayakita, 323
Mahadeviarasi, 121, 127
Mahajanas, 137, 154, 155, 158, 159, 251, 308
Mahākāvya, 264
Mahalingam, Prof. T. V., 1, 4, 11, 153n, 157
Mahālingēśwara (temple), 129, 184
Mahāmānasa, 319
Mahāmaṇḍaleśwara, 34, 55, 56, 57, 59, 60n, 84, 85, 89, 95
Mahamantapa, 246
Mahaprabhus, 137
Mahapradhana, 86, 91, 106, 107, 110, 142, 143, 310

Mahapradhani Dandigopa, 101
Maharashtra (State), 7, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260
Mahasabha, 57
Mahāśēsa, 231
Mahavira, 317
Mahēśwara (God), 163, 258, 327
Mahishasur, 51n
Mahishasura Mardini, 51n, 229, 245
Maity, S. K., 156
Makara Jinalaya, 36
Makara-Torana, 241, 256
Malanna (sculptor), 186
Malaprabha (river), 250
Malaya, 164
Malayamāruta, 266n
Malayan Archipelago, 163
Male, 92, 93
Malenāḍ, 33, 92
Maleparolganda, 38, 92
Malepas, 38
Maleraja, 34
Malik Kafur (Muslim invader), 88, 112, 326, 327, 338
Malla Samudram, 51n
Mallappa Daṇḍānāyaka, 110
Mallianna (sculptor), 186
Mallideva, 34, 55, 77, 78
Mallikarjuna, 142, 143
Mallikarjunapura, 155, 160
Mallikarjunaswamy (temple), 43, 250, 251, 252
Mallikēśwara Tirtha, 56
Mallināthā, 288
Mallithamma (sculptor), 187, 188, 189, 198
Malur, 333
Malva, 58, 164, 256, 260
"Māmadi", 132
Mammata, 263
Mānasōllāsa (work of the 12th Cen.), 141, 141n, 142, 142n
Manavira (governor), 112
Mandalaswamis, 165
Maṇḍapa, 256
Mandara, 202
Mandya, 130n, 132n, 184, 189, 190, 197
Manei dandādhipa, 117
Maneīśvara (deity), 117
Mangalada-Koppa (place), 130
Mangalore, 39, 89, 96, 161, 228, 233
Mānika Poysaḷāchāri, 36
Manjarabad (region), 39
Manmatha, 189, 251
Manni (battle of), 74
Manu, 26
Manumasiddha II (ruler), 99
Manunitimārga, 34
Manuve (place), 105
Mantapa, 241, 242, 243, 246
Māra, 34
Maragaruda, 139
Marajan Kampaya Daṇḍanayaka, 239
Marale (village), 116, 183, 204
Marasinga, 318
Maravarman Sundra Pandyan I, 244
Maravarman Sundra Pandyan II, 132
Maravarman Vīra Pandyan II, (1252–67) 271

Mariamman (temple), 237
Marisetti, 323
Mariyāne (son of Bucirāja), 123, 127, 313
Mariyane Daṇḍanayaka, 318, 321
Māroja, 138
Marugerenad, 323
Masana, 321
Manasa Gavunda, 119
Masanitamma (sculptor), 189
Maski (ins.), 6
Mate, S.M., 260n
Mattavara, 317
Mathura, 203
Māva Daṇḍanayaka (minister), 339
Māvinakere, 154, 159
Maysenadu, 324
Mayurasharma, 6
Mayuravarman III, 76
Meehi Seṭṭi (Paṭṭanaswamy), 166
Megachandra Trividyadeva, 318
Mēlankana, 154
Melbaṅgady, 92
Melkote, 198, 306, 310, 311, 313, 315
Meru, 281
Meṭṭaḷagiyaserigar (temple), 245, 246
'Meymmali Kosar', 50
Mionette's (scale), 174
Moghul, 159
Mohini, 206
Moleteyabidu, 75
Moræs, 77n
Mosale (place), 197
Moṭitalab, 307, 312, 319
Mottenavile, 318
Mueēḍam, 159
Muchandi, 323
Mūḍabidure, 89, 91, 94, 235
'Mudali', 272
Mudaliar, 272
Mudigere (ins.), 32, 34
Mudigere (place), 33, 39, 42, 43, 48, 92, 93, 118, 122n, 125n
Mudikondacholapuram, 131
Mūḍukēri, 228, 232, 233
Muhammad Bin Tugluk, 112
Mukhamantapa, 187, 246, 256
Mukunda, 313
Mulasankareśwara (temple), 190
Mulastanadeva, 250
Mūliga, 138
Muḷḷūr, 34
Munivajrapāni, 34
Mura (Krishna), 40
Muroor (place), 158
Muslims, 247
Muvattanahalli, 184
Mysore, 13, 17, 38, 39, 43, 44, 47, 48, 51n, 66, 71, 100, 189, 227, 255, 265

N

Nachchinarkkiniyar, 45, 49
Nadagowdas, 323
Naḍheggade, 139
Nāḍu, 91, 138
Nāgachandra, 10, 287, 287(n), 288, 288(n)
Nagadeva, 324
Nagalapura, 187, 204

Nāgamaṅgala, 122n, 123, 199, 267, 267n, 268, 315
Nagara Jinalaya, 323, 324
Nāgarī (script), 28
Nagapatnam, 305
Nagarili Chola-mandala, 334
Nāgaravarma, 7
Nagoja (sculptor), 186
Nāgeyā Gauda (chieftain), 107
Nahuśa, 34
Naik, A.V., 261n
Nakaras (merchants), 36
Nākarēśwara (temple), 166
Nakimayya, 183
Nalamba-Ganga (allies), 192
Namana-Samudram, 51n
Nanadesis (Traders), 163, 165
Nandalur (ins.), 100
Nandi, (place), 187, 188
Nandi *Mandapa*, 199
Nandi pavillion, 256
Nandis, 242
Nangali, 102, 106
Nangur Vel, 52n
Nanjangud, 129n, 130n, 183
Naniya (King), 60
Nannan Venman, 45
Narasimha (deity), 178, 187, 188
Narasimha (King), 11, 79, 94, 172, 173, 174, 177
Narasimha of Vijayanagar dynasty, 177
Narasimha I, 25, 38, 73, 75, 76, 77, 93, 104, 115, 116, 118, 121, 122, 123, 125, 126, 127, 135, 143, 177, 183, 186, 314, 322, 323
Narasimha II, 25, 28, 61, 69, 94, 99, 100, 101, 102, 108, 109, 110, 129, 155, 173, 179, 184, 236, 237, 246, 265, 266, 271, 276, 284, 314, 224
Narasimha III, 29, 69, 94, 105, 134, 135, 153, 154, 174, 180, 184, 189, 190, 265, 272 284, 324
Narasimha Angady, 93, 94
Narasimha Murthy, Dr. A.V., 8
Narasimha, Sri Pratapa (King), 177
Narasimha Ugra, 182
Narasimhachar, 2, 5, 288
Narasimhachar, R., 182, 287, 312n
Narasimhacharya, R., 254
Nārattaṁ Pūṇḍi, 269, 279, 280, 281, 282
Nārāyaṇa, 228, 234
Narayanaswami temple, 310
Naregal, 252
Nargund, 250
Narmada (river), 62
Nasik (Dist.), 258
Nataraja, 251
Natya Saraswathi, 186
Natya Śāstra, 263
Navagrahas, 244
Navaranga (hall), 183, 185, 186, 225
Navaraṅga maṇḍapa, 256
Nawabs of Carnatic, 240
Nayaka, 138
Nayakas of Kheḷadi, 226
Nayaks of Tonnur, 180n
Nayanar Gandagopalar, 99
Nāyigere (ins.), 172

Nedumudi Annal (Krishna), 45
Nelamangala, 74
Nelavīdu (place), 107
Nellore, 51n, 105, 112
Nemichandra, 10
Nēminātha *asadi*, 235
Nēpāla, 163
Nidugal, 104, 105, 162
Nidugallunadu, 107
Nidugallurajya, 107
Nilagiri, 70
Nilakanta Sastri, K. A., 5, 99n
Nirugunda (village), 160
Nirvachanottara Ramayana, 100n
Nirvachanottara Ramayana, 111
Niska (a coin) 173
Nittur, 312
Nolamba, 193, 197, 200
Nolambavādi, 59
Noṇambavādi, 177, 178
Noṇambavādi Goṇḍa (title) 176
North Arcot (Dist.), 113, 283
North Gujarat (style), 260
North Kanara, 47, 87, 95
North Karnataka, 255
Nripakāma, 25, 26, 34, 35, 36, 54, 55, 74
Nritya Ganesha, 251
Nritya Saraswathi, 206
Nuggihalli, 184, 187, 190

O

Odambaṭṭu, 139
Oishnu temple, 274
Olugu, 246
Okkalu, 137

P

Padirrupattu, 45, 52
Padma, 188
Padma, 241
Padmadevi, 75
Padmala, 237
Padmaladevi, 28
Padmanabha, 231
Padmanābhabhaṭṭōpādhyāya, 29
Padmasana, 188
Padmavathi, 40, 47
Padmavathigere, 323
Palabhōgain, 157
Palaiya vidu, 50
Palaka, 241
Pālapaḷḷi Nilakanta Nayakar 239
Pallavas, 6, 14, 52n
Pale vidu, 50
Palkigundu (ins.), 6
Palpare, 73
Pammiyakkam, 132
Pampa 286
Pampapuri 332
Pana (unit of money), 171
Panchalinga, 184, 189
Panchamukhi, 5, 138n
Pāṇḍavas, 327
Pāṇḍyas, 14, 60, 68, 69, 70, 98, 112, 131, 132, 133, 163, 164, 236, 237, 238, 243, 244, 247, 272, 280, 335
Pāṇḍya-Chakravarthi, 89, 90
Pāṇḍya-disapatta, 132
Pāṇḍyan Kings, 271n, 272
Pāṇḍya-kula, 132

Pāṇḍya-Kula-Saṁrakshana-daksha-dakshina-bhujam, 132
Pāṇḍya-maharajadhiraja, 89
Pandya-rajya Sthapana-charya, 132
Panini, 201
Panjaras, 242, 243
Parama (village), 320
Paramabhaṭṭaraka, 89
Paramaras, 58n
Parambu Hills, 48
Parameshwara (Temple), 250, 251
Paravasudeva, 239
Parēṇḍa, 63
Pari (of Paramby), 45, 48, 52n
Paricharakas, 90
Parigi (Hindupur Tlq.), 104
Pārśva, 322
Parsvanatha, 322
Parsvanatha Basadi, 185, 313
Partheon (architecture), 183
Parvathi, 88, 189, 245
Pasupathiswamin, 245
Patna, 258
Pāṭodi, 259
Pattadakal, 6
Paṭṭamahādēvi, 118
Paṭṭaṇasvāmis, 138, 165
Pattapi, 98
Pattis, 159
Paṭṭnadūr, 30
Pearse, General, 174, 176
Pedda Heggade, 88
Pēḍgaon, 258, 259, 260
Pehan of Ay, 45
Pemma Virappa Changalna, 73
Pennar (River), 101
Penugonda, 106, 107, 108
Perambur, 52n
Pergade, 138
Permādi, 121, 122
Permmadi (chief), 60
Persia, 163, 164
Perumaldevan, 239
Perumbanurrupadai, 53n
Perum Velur, 52n
Pinakini (river), 103
Pisi, 53n
Pochala-Devi, 320
Pochave, 321
Pokkunda (village), 154, 159
Polavi Dandanayaka, 110
Polur (Tlq.), 279
Ponburchapura, 78
Ponna, 2, 7, 27, 286
Ponmeyndaperumal, 275
Ponparappinān, 275, 279, 280, 282, 284
Potti Pombuchchapura-Varādhiśvara, 89
Poy, 50, 53n
Poygainādu, 276
Poysala, 34, 36, 39, 40, 47, 50
Poysaḷachāri, 36
Poysaḷeśvara, 50
Poyyedumillada Meyyan, 50
Poysaḷa Mahādēvi, 35
Poysala Māruga, 34
Poysala Setty, 34
Poysaḷa Vaṁsha, 40
Prabhachandra, 319
Prabhachandra Siddanta-deva, 318
Prabhāvali, 232

Prabhu, 138
Prabhu Gāunda, 138
Pradakshina, 246
Pradhani, 36
Pradhani, 245, 246
Praduman, 190
Pradyumna, 231
Praje, 137
Prakara, 242, 245, 247
Prakīrṇaka, 265
Prapatti, 309
Prasannēśvara (temple), 245
Pratapachakravarti, 324
Pratapa Rudra, 327, 330
Pratapa Rudra II (Kakatiya ruler), 112
Prayogadīpikā, 264
Priyadarsin, 45
Priyangn, 202
Pulikadimal, 49, 50
Pulikeshi II, 6
Puṇḍarikakśa Perumāl, 273, 274, 275
Punjab, 158
Punganur, 103, 106
Punisa (general), 75, 321
Punisamaya, 313
Puram, 201, 49, 52n
Puranānūru of Irunkovel, 46
Puranānuru, 48
Puranas, 6, 143, 323
Purānic, 32, 42, 44, 271
Pushpagiri Hill, 43
Puttalis, 201
Puttur, 96
Pyriyarasi, 35

R

Rachamalla, 34, 35, 317
Rachanayaka, 106
Raghava Iyengar, R., 52n
Raghavanka, 10
Raghavan, Dr. V., 263, 264, 266, 267, 269, 270
Raichur, 28
Raikar, Y. A., 261n
Rajaditya, 10
Rajaladevi, 117, 127
Rajamalla, 34
Rajaraja III, 69, 99, 100, 101, 101n, 102, 109, 110, 111, 130, 131, 243
Rajaraja Devan, 278, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285
Rajastan, 7
Rajendra Chōḷa I, 55
Rajendra III, 100, 109, 112, 131, 132, 133, 135
Rajendra Singavalanāḍu, 276n
Rakkasa-Ganga, 57
Rakkasa-Poysala, 57
Rakkasa-Tangadi, 328
Ramachandra, 78, 80, 254
Ramachandran, Dr. T. N., 244
Ramadeva, 78
Ramadi nadu, 106
Ramanatha, 29, 69, 105, 106, 134, 135, 236, 237, 243, 245, 246, 270, 272, 273, 284, 324, 332
Ramanathadeva, 239
Ramanujacharya, 2, 9, 13, 14, 27, 67, 113, 126, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 319
Rama Pisharoti, 202
Ramapriya, 311
Rama Rajya, 26

Ramathirtha (Belgaum Dist.), 137
Ramatirtha (Tank), 245
Rameshwaram, 67, 103, 109, 335
Rameshwaram Temple, 335
Rameya Daṇḍanayaka, 340
Rangacharya, 131n, 132n, 324n
Ranganatha Temple, 132, 239, 270
Ranna, 7, 27, 286
Rasamīmāṁsa, 263
Rashtrakutas, 7, 8, 43, 44, 52n, 62, 194, 226, 286, 316
Rati, 251
Rattas, 64
Rāya-gaj-āṅkuśa 89, 90
Rayaṇa Daṇḍanātha, 116
Rayas of Vijayanagar, 98
Rayalasima, 98, 102
Recharasa, 324
Reddis, 101, 102
Revanasiddha, 330, 332
Rēvimayya, 118
Rice, Lewis, 3, 5, 29, 31, 32, 47, 54, 67, 84, 85, 119, 120, 123, 124
Rishi, 46, 49, 251
Roddam, 103, 104, 106
Rome, 42
Romulus, 42
Ron (Taluk), 250
Rudra, 75
Rudrabhatta, 10
Rukmini, 235
Rukminikalyana, 262, 264, 265, 270, 272
Rukminikalyana, 272, 274
Ruyyaka, 263

S

Sabheya Samakshadalli, 139
Sadali, 103
Sadaśiva temple, 184
Sahya mountains, 32, 40, 197
Sahajadevi, 182
Sahasrakuta Jina, 324
Saīva, Saivism, 14, 43, 132, 238, 247, 263
Saiva temple, 258
"Sakala", 47
Sakalakalāsārvabhauma, 271
Sakala Vidyādhara, 264
Sakleshpur, 39
Sala 11, 31, 32, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 46, 47, 54, 56, 316, 317
Sala, 241, 242, 243, 244
Śālai, 245
Salabhanjikas, 201, 202, 203, 205
Salem, 236
Saletore, B. A., 5, 84, 85, 338
Saligave, 311
Sāligrāma, 306, 310, 311, 312
Sallēkhana, 321
Saluva, 78
Saluva Tikkama, 80
Samantas, 110
Samasta-bhuvana-vikyata, 89
Samayapuram, 53n, 237, 240
Śāmbhudēva, 142
Sambuvarāyas, 114
Sampradāyaprakāśinī, 263
Sāmudāya, 137, 157
Samūha, 137
Samudra Gōpaya Dandanāyaka, 101

Samudram, 44, 51n
Samyuktva Chūdāmani, 323
Sānchi, 203
Sangam, 44, 48, 50
Sangama, 96, 327, 331, 332, 339
Sangameshvara temple, 259
Sanganapalle, 107
Sangiya-nāyaka, 87
Sañjivani, 263, 264, 265, 268, 270
Sanjīvarāyanipalle, 107
Sankaranārāyana, 228, 229, 230
Sankaranārāyana temple, 229
Sankarāshana, 231
Sankaya-Sāhani, 87
Śāntaladēvi, 9, 115, 116, 123, 126, 127, 183, 194, 206, 309, 313, 318, 320
Śāntaladēvi (Junior), 127
Sāntalige, 76, 85, 90
Sāntāra, 78, 79, 80, 85, 89, 93
Śantidēvaru, 34
Śantinātha, 318
Śanthīśvara Gandhāvarana, 318
Śānthigrāma, 170
Saptamātrika, 229, 256
Saracenic, 25
Saraswathi, 1, 190, 206, 239, 245
Saraswathi Bhandara, 239
Sarma, M. S., 101n,
Sarvādhikāri, 143
Sarvajna Sri-Vijaya Narasimhapura, 190
Sarvajna Viśnubhatta, 267, 268
Śaśakapura, 31, 32, 33, 39, 40, 41, 43, 317
Sāsana Basadi, 321
Sasankapura, 39
Śaśapura, 32, 33, 37, 40
Sassanids, 20
Śāstrās, 144
Sastri, K.A.N., 67, 68, 111n, 305
Satagōpa, 113
Satavahanas, 6
Sathyabhāma, 235
Sathyamangalam, 306
Satyaputras, 51
Saundatti, 64
Savadi, 250
Savaneru, 322
Savatiganda Basadi, 318
Sāyana, 278, 327
Sēkkilār, 305
Sēnādhipati, 86
Senbai, 99
Sendamangalam, 101
Sēnēsvara, 228
Serajammanahalli, 107
Seshadri, Dr., XI
Sethu Pillai R. P., 51
Setti-gāmunda, 85, 86
Setti-gāvunda, 84
Settiguttas, 138
Settikere, 172, 184
Sevuna, 7, 8, 62, 63, 64, 65, 77, 79, 80, 105
Sewell, Robert, 48
Shamasastri, 2
Shanmukha, 189, 229, 230
Sharma, Prof. S. R., 316
Sheik Ali, B. 5, 11
Sher Afghan, 53n
Shikaripur, 162

Shimoga, 87, 197
Shirali, 95
Shivalinga, 250, 251
Siddāpura, 6
Siddēśwara temple, 183, 259
Sigoja, 187
Sikhara, 185, 242, 255
Silāhāras, 64
Silaputrikas, 201
Simhagiri, 327
Simhalalāta, 241, 242
Simha-Raghunatha, 339
Sindas, 64
Sindēśvara, 315
Singarkoil, 311
Singeya Dandanāyaka, 339
Singhana, 64, 65, 78, 133, 239, 245
Sinnar, 63, 256, 258
Sirali, 87, 95
Sirenād, 84, 85, 103
Sirsi, 95
Sirivaram, 106, 107
Sisunādu, 107
Siva, 9, 50, 142, 187, 230, 242, 244, 257, 274
Siva temple, 190, 260
Sivanur, 251
Sivapuram, 106
Sivapura, 155
Sivaramamoorty C., 243n
Sivaśakti, 229
Sivasamudram, 51n
Smith, Vincent, 68, 255
Sokkavilli, 272, 276, 285
Sokkavilli Bhatta, 270, 271, 283
Soma, 184, 189, 190
Sōmadēva, 74, 141
Somaka, 188
Sōma-Kula-Tilaka, 89
Sōmala, 237
Sōmanahalli, 138
Sōmanāthapur, 1, 8, 15, 27, 184, 188, 189, 190, 258
Somarasampēttai, 246
Sōmaśarma, 144
Somaskanda, 244
Sōmēśvar (Vira), 25, 50, 56, 57, 60, 69, 74, 94, 99, 100, 102, 105, 110, 111, 112, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 184, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 244, 245, 247, 265, 266, 267, 271, 272, 273, 284, 324
Sōmēśvara I, 35, 56, 252
Sōmēśvara II, 57, 288
Sōmēśvara III, 288
Sōmēśvara IV, 61, 63, 100, 105
Sōmēśvara temple, 138, 183, 184, 245, 249
Sōmēśvarapet, 247
Sōmēśvara Panditadēva, 251
Sorab, 36, 316
Sorale, 47
Soratur, 64
Sōsalya, 31
Sosevūr, 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 39, 41, 43, 317
Sourāstra, 163
South Kanara, 9, 81, 83, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 95, 96, 97, 226, 227, 229
Sovanna Heggade, 188
Sovisetti, 167
Soyidevi Ālupa, 95
Sravanabelagola, 123, 143, 162, 165, 170, 307, 312, 314, 318, 321, 322, 324

Sreenivasachari, 2
Śrīdēvi, 231
Śrīdhara, 288
Srikanta Natha, 327
Srikanta Sastry S., 5
Srinarayana temple, 315
Sringeri, 16, 42, 96, 230, 327, 328
Sripada Tirtha, 311
Sripada Trividya Deva, 321
Sripala-Traividya Deva, 323
Sri Ramakrishnananda, 308n
Sriranga Garudavāhana Bhatta, 245
Śrīrangam, 69, 112, 133, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 242, 245, 246, 247, 269, 270, 271, 272, 283, 285, 306, 311
Srirangapattana, 154, 162, 198
Sri Saraswati, 228, 232
Śrīvaishnavas, 131, 253
Srivardhana, 63
Stalamahātmya, 247
Stambhaputtalikas, 201
Stapatis, 193
Stuarts, 20
Subhachandra, 321
Subramanya, 280
Sudarsana, 239
Sudatta, 40, 316
Sudattachariyar, 47
Sudi, 250, 251
Sugata, 9
Sukhanāsi, 225
Sūktiratnahāra, 264
Sūktisudhārnavam, 141, 141n, 142, 142n, 143n
Sumatra, 164
Sumeria, 6
Sundara Pandya, 69, 133
Sundara Pandya Gopuram, 244, 248
Sunkanna, 28
Surasundaris, 201
Surigeya Nāgayya, 310
Surigeya Nagidevanna, 310
Sūrya, 183, 229, 244
Svāmitana, 138
Svargahasta, 188
Svastipura, 315
Svetadri, 274
Svetagiri, 273
Śvētaśaila, 273

T

Tagarenad, 312
Tāhākāri, 258
Tai (Jan-Feb), 247
Taila II, 76
Taila Naga, 76
Tailama (king), 77
Talakad (place), 66, 67, 102, 103, 162, 165. 177, 182, 195, 198, 249, 288n, 312, 320
Talakād Gonda (title), 67, 176, 182
Talas, 243, 248
Tamil, 14, 50, 272
Tamil Country, 13, 45, 69, 70, 82, 109, 128, 129, 130, 131, 135, 236, 240, 241, 247, 272, 273, 276n,
Tamil Kingdoms, 66
Tamil politics, 136
Tamil Sangam, 51n
Tamil Tribe (Velir community), 48
Tamil Yeomanry, 52n

Tamilaham, 45
Tamilnadu, 7, 14, 18, 29, 111, 113, 128, 153, 162, 268, 338
Tammi Siddha, 111
Tammu Siddha (ruler), 99
Tāṇḍara, 257
Tanjore, 69, 236
Tarikere, 183, 187
Taraka Bhāsā, 268
Tarkika-Chakravarthi, 323
Taunepalle (place), 106
Telagu Basava Purana, 328
Telagu Choda Tikka Gandagopala, 130
Telagu Cholas of Henjeru, 103
Telagu Cholas of Hemavathi (Henjeru), 104, 107
Telagu Cholas of Nellore, 98, 105, 108, 111
Telingana, 105
Telugu Country, 15
Telugu Pallava, 98
Tengina ghatta, 198
Terakamli, 315
Tereyur (place), 103
Thana (Dist), 257, 258, 260
Thanjavur, 191
Thirthankaras, 322
Tikka I (Gandagopala), 99, 100, 102, 105, 111, 112, 131
Tikkana (Saluva king), 78
Tikkana Somayaji (poet), 100, 101n, 111, 130
Tilaka, 202
Tinnevelly, 132
Tiptur, 83, 122n, 167, 190, 318
Tirucharapalli, 14, 113, 236, 240, 246
Tirukalatti (Tikka I), 99
Tirukoilūr, 280
Tirumaiyam (place), 132
Tirumalasagara, 312
Tirunārāyana, 306
Tirupathi, 44, 266n
Tirupparaṅkunram, 269, 280
Tirutter, 275
Tiruvānaikka (Jambukēśvara) (temple), 50, 237, 245, 248
Tiruvannaikka Ramanatha (King), 239
Tiruvannaikkaval, 278, 279
Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, 113, 247, 269, 275, 278, 279, 280, 284, 338
Tiruvekere, 184
Tiruveḷḷaṟai, 269, 273, 274, 275, 276, 282, 284
Tiruvendipuram, 69, 101n, 109
Tiṭṭagudi, 284
Togaravadi, 314
Tolkappiyam, 45
Tolkudi (ancient family), 50
Tonachi (place), 182
Toṇḍamaṇḍalam, 112
Tonnur or Tondanur, 162, 198, 306, 310, 311, 312, 314, 319
Toynbee, 20
Trailokyamalla, 56, 57
Traipurushadeva, 244
Tribhuvana Kavi Cakravarttin, 273, 274
Tribhuvana Vidya Chakravarttin, 263, 265, 274
Tribhuvanamalla, 34, 55, 56, 58, 60, 84, 85

Tribhuvanavira, Deva, 273
Trichy, 273, 274, 283, 284
Trikuteśvara temple, 259
Trimūrthi, 229
Tripurantaka (temple), 182 244
Tripurantakeśvara, 204
Trivikrama (God), 188, 251 264
Tryalidha, 245
'Tulapurusha', 134
Tuḷu, 82, 83, 86, 87, 93
Tuḷunādu, 51, 72, 81, 226
Tuḷuva, 82, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 93n, 94, 95, 96
Tuluva-Hoysala, 89
Tumbula grama, 158
Tumbur, 61, 83, 101n, 119n, 184, 187, 190, 197
Tungabhadra (valley), 54
Tungabhadra (river), 56, 64 65, 105, 162, 197
Tunbeyakallu (place), 106
Turukas, 174
Turuvekere, 153, 190
Tuvarai or Torai or Tuvarapatti (Modern Dwarasamudra), 44, 45, 48, 49, 51n
Tyagaperumal, 245
Tyagavinodiśvaram (temple), 245

U

Ubbaravāni, 154
Ubhayanānādēśi, 164
Uchchangi, 68, 162, 165
Udayāditya, 58, 118
Udayādityadēva, 74
Uddhare, 77
Udipi, 89, 96
Uggihalli, 34
Ugranarasimha, 229
Ulugh Khan, 247
Uma, 244
Undigenahal, 204
Uṇṇāmale, 338, 339
Upanayana, 324
Urdhvatāndava, 245

V

Vachanās, 27
Vaddārādhane, 144, 144n
Vadibhasimha, 323
Vahanas, 244
Vahni Pushkarni, 306
Vaidyanātha, 272, 284
Vairamudi, 311
Vaisravana, 288
Vaishnava, 94, 132
Vaishnava temple, 237, 239
Vaishnavism, 9, 11, 14, 126, 232
Vaiyappa, Dannāyaka, 96
Vajapeyayājin, 273
Vāji, 143
Vajranandi Sidhanti Deva, 324
Vajrapāni Pandita, 34, 36
Vajrapānibratiśvara, 39
Valagala Kumteyahalli, 107
Valimurai, 49
Vallabha, 272
Vallaiya Dandanāyaka, 110
Vallaladeva, 99, 100
Vallalamaharaja, 247, 248
Vallālarayan tirunāl, 247
Vallāla Mahārājan carkkam, 247
Vallur, 103

Vamanavanan Kuttapperumal, 106
Varada, 188
Varadaraja, 110
Varadarajaswami temple, 112, 113
Varaha, 174
'Varanandikalyana', 311
Varanāsi, 174
Varānga, 235
Vardhamana, 47, 316
Varuna, 43
Vāsantikādevi (Vasantha, Vasanthamma, Vāsanti, Vāsasantika), 32, 39, 40, 41, 43, 313, 316
Vāsudēva, 187, 272, 284
Vayalur, 246
Vāyabhūti, 144
Vayijappa dannāyaka, 91
Vedānta, 265
Vedas, 26
Vēdāvathi, 103
Vedavyasa, 239
Veeraballa Jinalaya, 324
Vellai gopuram, 242
Velanādu Chōlas, 98
Velavikkoman Paduman, 45
Velir, 45, 46, 48, 49, 50
Venkatam, 44
Venkataraman, K. R., 128, 128n, 129n, 136, 136n
Venkataramanayya, Dr. N., 333
Venkatasubbiah, A., 287
Venkateshwara, S. V., 5
Venkateswarulus, 2
Venkobarao, B., 255, 255n, 257, 258, 261
Vengi, 305
Venugopalakrishna, 228, 232, 233, 234
Vēnūr, 91, 92
Vetore Prabhakara Sastri, 328
Vibhurāyadēva, 123, 127
Vidhyādhara, 267
Vidyāchakravarttin (V.C.), 262, 263, 265, 266, 268, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285
Vidyārājabhatta, 267
Vidyāranya, 16, 327, 328, 330, 332
Vidyāranyakālajnāna, 330, 332
Vidya Tirtha, 327
Villi, 274, 276, 285
Vijayagandagōpala, 112
Vijyagōpālapura, 115
Vijayanagara, 3, 7, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 19, 31, 42, 51, 65, 83, 90, 96, 97, 114, 137, 140, 177, 178, I91, 198, 203, 226, 237, 239, 241, 243, 246, 262, 327, 328, 329, 331, 333, 334, 337, 340, 342, 343
Vijayanagar History Seminar, 137, 139, 330
Vijayanarayana, 182, 186, 312
Vijaya Narasimha Deva, 322
Vijayapura, 288
Vijayarājēndrapaṭṭana, 129, 130
Vijayathirthadhinatha Basadi, 325
Vikramadithya VI, 35, 54, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 66, 68, 82, 181, 251, 288, 320

Vikramapura, 129, 133, 236, 240
Vikramasimhapuri, 99
Vimalachandradēva, 33
Vimāna, 193, 194, 242
Vinayāditya, 25, 26, 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38, 54, 55, 56, 57, 71, 72, 74, 75, 79, 93, 117, 118, 124, 125, 317
Vinayadithya (son of Vishnuvardana), 115, 117, 123,127
Vindhyas, 98
Vinukkār Ālvār, 306
Vīra Ballala (son of Vishnuvardhana), 115, 116
Vīrabanajiga Dharma, 163, 166, 167
Vīra Dodda Kongalvadeva, 75
Vīra Hiriyappa Odeya, 340
Vīra Hoisana, 120
Vīra Kikkāyi Tāyi, 90
Vīra Māgadhan, 279
Vīranārāyana, 313, 314
Vīra Pāndya Dēva II, 82, 271
Virarayi fanams, (coins) 180n
Virasaivism, 9, 14, 155
Vīra-Śānta, 339
Vīra-Śāntāra, 79
Vīra-Śāntāradēva, 79
Vīra-Somēśvaram, 247
Vīra-Soyidēva, 87
Vīra-Vijaya Virūpākshapura, 337
Viresalingam, K., 100n
Vīrēśvaram, 246
Virūpāksha, 337
Virūpāksha-Hosadurga, 336
Virūpāksha *Matha*, 328
Virūpākshanātha, 262
Virūpāksa Pañcāsika, 262, 263
Virūpākshapāttana, 337
Virūpākshapura, 337
Vishnu, 113, 163, 183, 187, 228, 234, 244, 251, 277
Vishnu temple, 110, 113, 164
Vishṇubhaṭṭa, 268
Vishṇudandadipa, 22, 144
Vishnumūrthi, 228
Vishnupada temple, 28
Vishnusamudra, 314
Vishnuvardhana, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 17, 18, 22, 25, 26, 27, 32, 33, 37, 38, 42, 46, 58, 59, 60, 63, 66, 67, 68, 72, 73, 75, 76, 79, 84, 85, 86, 92, 93. 102, 103, 104, 107, 110, 113, 115, 117, 118, 119, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 143, 164, 176, 177, 181, 182, 183, 185, 186, 194, 206, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 312, 313, 314, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322
Vishnuvardhana (Junior), 116, 117, 122, 127
Vishnuvardhanakēśhavadevapura, 116
Vithalabhūnātha, 105
Vitthala Devaraja, 306
Vogel, J. P., 201, 202, 203
Vrishavahana, 244
Vyalas, 242

W

Warrangal, 327, 328, 330, 335

Western Ghats, 38, 39, 40

Y

Yadavas, 7, 8, 13, 44, 47, 52n, 61, 98, 195, 254, 328, 335
Yadavagiri, 306, 311
Yadavapura, 310, 313
Yadavasimhana, 105
Yadu (Yaduvamśa, Yadukula), 8, 38, 39, 40, 41, 45, 117
Yadugiri Mahātmya, 311
Yādavakulāmbaradyumani, 34
Yajamāna grāma, 157
Yājnavalkya, 26
Yaksha, 319
Yakshi, 319
Yakshini, 235
Yalamasaya, 190
Yama, 10
Yaśaśtilaka, 141, 141n
Yasoda Devi Dr. (Mrs) V., 98n, 99n, 102n
Yatirāja, 311
Yaugandharāyana, 143
Yayāti, 117
Yedatore, 268
Yelandur, 131n
Yōga, 265
Yōga Mādhava temple, 184
Yōgi, 41
Yōgindra, 40
Yuvaraja, 57, 327

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